لوک ورثہ اشاعت گھر

THE JAT OF PAKISTAN

By Dr. Sigrid Westphal-Hellbusch & Dr. Heinz Westphal

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S. Westphal-Hellbusch
H. Westphal

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Introduction

If this little book succeeds in convincing the reader that ethnological research is not only of academic interest, but also of practical value for a state burdened with the task of helping to develop a multitude of very different ethnic and cultural groups, then we should like to suggest to our friends and colleagues in Pakistan that they continue and finish the work we were unable to complete for want of time. Our subject was the Jat; "why" shall be explained in the next chapter. Our problem is a historical one: to examine cultural and ethnic relations between Pakistan and Iraq. This theme will demand some years more of literary study, but we already have some unexpected results after analyzing our purely ethnographical data. This allows a new grouping of the Jat with historical, ethnical, and practical implications. This grouping according to ethnographic evidence should be checked by critical observers. It demands from them an uncompromising respect for detail, which can hardly be shown by an interviewer who is dependent on interpreters.

Our interpreters deserve our unlimited gratitude for all their help and troubles. However, they were not trained in the patience and vigilance of the scientist in regard to minor discrepancies in information. They often filled up gaps in the statements with their own knowledge, adjusted contradictions, and urged honest but slow-thinking people to give information which they might have stated differently, had not our interpreters known it to be "right". We have not the slightest intention of blaming our helpers. Perhaps we did not do enough to emphasize the importance of unprejudiced and apparently contradictory statements. Readily our interpreters assured us that they saw our point, but as soon as an interview was under way, they could not help becoming involved themselves. Only by employing more than one interpreter were we able to retain some of the original "errors".

It is the aim of this book to show that recording data just as they appear, without selection, correction or preconceived judgment, and to sort it afterwards is the only way to approach reality — provided the questions are not haphazard, but of relevance to the problem at hand. In the hope that our first results will soon be followed by ever more reliable material, to the collection of which we wish to draw attention, we present this little book to the People of Pakistan.

The aim and purpose of our research

During the years 1955/56 we — my husband and I — conducted a study of nearly 50,000 people, hitherto neglected by ethnology. This group, collectively called the Ma'dan, are marsh-dwellers in southern Iraq, whose way of life is characterized by buffalo breeding. In this respect they are distinguished from all of the Arabic or Arabicized tribes of the surrounding country, and for this same reason they are held in low esteem by their neighboring groups. Some unfortunate enterprises of the Ma'dan in former times increased the disfavour shown to them, but these incidents are now forgotten and only a slightly irrational attitude of dislike and distrust remains.

Being a predominantly endogamous group, the Ma'dan form a body apart from Iraqi society as a whole. The same is true of some other groups, e. g., the Subba and the Yezidi, but these groups are held together by religions of their own, which differ from Islam and which hence also separate them from the Islamic-Arabic society of Iraq. In contrast to this situation, however, there is not and has never been a religious difference between the Ma'dan and their Arab neighbors; they are all Moslems. The segregation of the Ma'dan could therefore be interpreted as indicative of a foreign origin, a comparatively late arrival in their present habitat, and of circumstances which hindered an unrestrained mixing between the old inhabitants and the new immigrants.

From Biladhuri[1] we now know that Hajjaj, the Persian governor of Iraq (694—714 A.D.) received one-fifth of all war taxes imposed by his general, Mohammed bin Kasim, on the people of Sindh when he conquered the Indus plains in 711 (712?)—714 A.D. To this share belonged not only gold and other material wealth, but also prisoners of war with their families and livestock.

The facts lead us to suppose that the Ma'dan are at least in part descendants of the Zutt, who were deported, together with their buffaloes, to the south of Iraq in the 8th century. Their status as prisoners of war, hardly better than slaves, may well have been the

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[1] H. M. *Elliot:* edited by J. Dowson. The History of India, The Muhammadan Period. Calcutta 1955, Pp. 59, 62, 64, 65, 75.

reason why the Arab tribes were contemptuous and abstained from marital relations with them.

But who were the Zutt? To study this problem from the ethnographical point of view we came in 1961/62 to Pakistan, which, according to all sources, must have been the original homeland of the emigrating Zutt. The question was whether or not descendants of these buffalo-breeding ancestors could also be found in Pakistan, and if so, how their culture would compare with that of the Ma'dan. Moreover, historical traditions regarding their former migrations were also to be looked for.

As this question embraces a time-span of over 1,250 years and an area extending from Iraq to Pakistan in the east and from Iraq to Egypt in the west, its cultural and historical importance cannot be denied.

The identity of Zutt and Jat

As everyone familiar with Arabic literature will know, Zutt is declared to be the Arabicized form of Jat. As the vowels in the Arabic script are usually omitted, there is no great difficulty identifying Zutt with Zott or Zatt in other vowel-writing scripts. But why should the Arabs substitute a Z for a J, if the Zutt called themselves Jat, when the Arabs were perfectly able to write both letters with their own alphabet?

Since English scholars (e.g., Cunningham or Tod) have founded far-reaching theories about the Scythic origin of this nation on the name "Jat", the question of why the Arabs wrote Zutt instead of Jat is not just idle curiosity. As far as we could determine, this problem is mainly linguistic and hence should be investigated by a linguist in order to be solved scientifically. But in accordance with the information we received, we formulated the working hypothesis that the proper pronunciation was and is somewhere between Z and J (as is also indicated by sometimes spelling Guzerat "Gujerat"), and for this sound there is neither in Arabic nor in Persian an appropriate letter. The Persians decided on the letter J, the Arabs on the letter Z. Thus the question whether Zutt or Jat is the proper name must be answered by saying that neither is.

Only one advantage is to be gained from this discussion: It is no doubt possible that the historical Zutt and the present Jat of Pakistan bear the identical name, but does this mean that their origin, their history and culture are or were the same?

The Jat we were looking for

As we had never been to Pakistan before, all our knowledge of this land and its people was dependent on literature, most of which was in English. There one can read that cattle-breeding is the main occupation of many tribes in Sindh and other regions of Pakistan. "Cattle" in England means cow, in Pakistan cow and/or buffalo — but no author will discuss this point. As buffaloes are rarely mentioned as such, one gets the impression that only very few people in Pakistan breed buffaloes, and this can lead one to the false assumption that it would be an easy task to find the descendants of the buffalo-breeding forefathers of the Ma'dan. In reality however, "cattle" in Pakistan and India much more frequently designates buffaloes than cows, since nearly all peasants in Sindh and in the Punjab breed or keep some of these animals. Thus buffalo-breeding is not a culture-trait distinguishing groups of people in Pakistan, as is the case in Iraq, and hence it is useless as a criterion for locating the probable ancestors of the Ma'dan.

Our second clue, that the historical Zutt are the Jat of today, was of no use either. There are 8,000,000 Jat in Pakistan, who among themselves display all the variations from a purely peasant way of life to that of complete nomadism. There seemed to be only one way to distinguish the possible descendants of the probable forefathers of the Ma'dan from all their kindred Jat. We listed the characteristics of buffalo-breeding in Iraq and selected those groups of Jat for intensive study who showed at least some of these features. The characteristics listed were the following:

1. The buffalo is the main source of subsistence and is kept in herds. The way of life is more or less nomadic.
2. Buffalo-breeding and milking is done only by the men.
3. The buffalo is never used as a draught animal.
4. To sell milk is considered shameful. Ghi (clarified butter) is collected and usually sold by men in the market-places.
5. The huts are built from reeds and reedmats, preferably, but not necessarily, in a tunnel- or barrel-shaped form.

We were advised first to visit the Jat in the Delta-region of the Indus, as it was known that some strictly buffalo-breeding tribesmen lived there. In fact there are many similarities between their way of life and that of the Ma'dan, but nomadism is also a marked cultural trait of many other Jat, who live as camel-, sheep- and goat-nomads. Most of these nomads, together with many sedentary groups, are

parts of a distinct tribe, headed by Malik Ghulam Husein Khan. To realize the historical and cultural role of the buffalo-breeders in this context, we first had to study the organization and history of their whole tribe.

The Jat-tribe of the Delta

a) The social structure of the tribe

When speaking of "cultures" or "groups", cultural and social anthropology today tends to consider them as functional wholes. Without entering into theoretical discussions on the soundness of this concept, we shall use it here and maintain that all those Jat who acknowledge Ghulam Husein Khan as Malik belong to a community which may clearly be separated from any other community in the region and therefore be considered a functional unit. There exists a web of reciprocal relationships between the Malik and his followers, and where this reciprocity ends, the boundaries of the functional unit have been reached. To describe such a functional unit it is usually necessary to divide the whole into parts, and than to put these parts back together with an increased understanding of their interrelationship. This may not be an ideal way of dealing with living men and cultures, but it is surely a clear procedure and shall be employed here. Thus we shall first deal with the static aspect, otherwise known as the social structure of the tribe. Since this tribe, as a result of its seclusion, shows its features in relatively undisturbed condition, it will set the pattern for our study of the remnants of tribes in Middle and Upper Sindh and in the Panjab. So it may be well to attend to it first of all.

The organization of the tribe is hierarchic, being composed of approximately 100 subgroups, called "Oraks" by the Jat. In ethnological terminology these Oraks are either lineages or clans; in any case they are groups determined by patrilineal descent. The Oraks are under the control of a headman called the Wadero, whose eldest son inherits the title and position of his father. The Waderos are direct subordinates of the Malik (Arabic = king), whose eldest son likewise inherits title and position from his father.

The Malik has the authority to give orders to the Waderos, but in compensation he is obliged to deal with all requests they may bring before him. For some purposes the Wadero has an assistant or representative in the person of the so-called Wagdar, who takes part in his official duties. In reality the Wagdar is often taken only from the

members of one family, but in principle he is elected and can be recalled by his Orak. The Wagdar must be acknowledged by the Malik, who has the right to reject a candidate but not to nominate one. The Wagdar is entitled to confer directly with the Malik, but all decisions resulting from such conferences are communicated to the Waderos and made public by them to the Orak. Any member of the tribe can apply for a personal audience with the Malik, but again, the decisions reached there are first passed on to the Waderos.

Subordination and superordination are symbolized in the ceremony of folding the turban. At the coronation of a new Malik all the Waderos are obliged to be present at his residence — Raj Malik near Jati — and to provide one kerchief for the ceremony. The folding is begun by a distinguished person such as a Pir or other man of high standing. The Waderos follow in the order of their rank, which depends on inherited status, age and self-won prestige. Only this act of folding the turban can place the Wadero under the authority of the Malik; at the same time it may be considered a personal vow of loyalty to the person of the Malik.

According to all information this coronation ceremony is not only a formal affair, but many emotions are involved as well, as indicated by one surname for the Malik, "our Pagaro" (the bearer of our turban). In compensation for this service the Malik should be present when a new Wadero is installed and should begin the folding of his turban. This too is a symbolic act, the Malik now representing in his person the authority of the whole tribe, which will support the new Wadero. The Malik could delegate a worthy man to act in his stead, but this might be taken as a sign of incipient disintegration within the tribe. When the Wadero has thus been bestowed with superordinated authority, the heads of the lineages belonging to his Orak continue to fold the turban, thereby, true to the pattern, subordinating themselves to his position and declaring loyalty to his person. If there are any other Waderos partaking in this ceremony, they lower themselves to ask his protection. The reason for such an attitude shall be discussed later. This interplay between the delegation of authority by subordination to one person and being backed by this authoritative person when officially installed into a position, goes down to the smallest social unit, the nuclear family. The new heads of those lineages, who have acknowledged a Wadero as their superior, will be installed by him when an eldest son follows his father, and the corresponding procedure takes place with extended and nuclear families. All these relationships are invariably expressed by the ceremony of folding the turban.

The office of the Wagdar is not incorporated into this system of authority. If the Orak places its confidence in him, he can gain more influence than the Wadero, but he still has no institutionalized authority. This is the reason why no turban is folded for a Wagdar. As head of a lineage or a family he will naturally have to undergo this ceremony, but this is entirely apart from his position as a Wagdar. An illustrative example of how one wins and loses this honour was offered to us in one village and shall be related here. This village was inhabited by an Orak whose members aspired to have a school built in their village. In consequence thereof, discussions with officials and submission of formal applications became necessary. The old Wagdar was illiterate and hence unable to draw up the documents. In his stead an educated, retired official living in the village took the matter in hand, apparently with great success. This caused a tendency to seek his help whenever contacts with officials were due, and voices were heard to nominate him as the new Wagdar. This clearly illustrates the mechanism leading to a new nomination. Certain circumstances produce a faction in the village; when this faction becomes the majority, its wishes represent the public opinion, and consequently an appropriate representative is named.

Two forces establish the equilibrium of the tribal social structure: 1. the basic supporting force, the bond of kinship, and 2. the externally imposed force of political unity, holding the 100 Oraks together into a tribe.

1. The subgroups, the Oraks, are bound together by patrilineal relationships and organized on the hierarchical principle of age. At the head of the pyramid is the oldest man of the oldest lineage; next come the eldest men of the younger lineages. Each head of a lineage is the leader of the heads of the constituent nuclear families. Most of these Oraks hand down genealogical tables, some of which even being written on paper. But whether by oral or by written tradition, the ancestral line is the keystone of inescapable mutual obligations.

2. The integration of the 100 Oraks into a tribe depends solely on the person of the Malik. He is not the oldest man of the oldest family of the oldest lineage — as the natural head of a growing community would be — but biologically a total stranger to the Jat tribe. The family of the Malik belongs to the Karmati-Baluch, whereas all the Oraks belong to the caste of Jat. That means that the system of institutionalized authority, symbolized by the ceremony of folding the turban, is certainly the tie holding the tribe together (or identical with it), but that this tie is enforced on the Oraks from above. In other

words, many small Jat tribes, connected and distinguished by kinship, were formed into a political unit by a dynastic family of the Baluch.

What is known about the dates and circumstances of this event shall be discussed next, as it provides the basis for the reciprocal relations between Malik and Oraks.

b) History of the Malik-family

The sole historical document concerning the history of the Malik-family is a newly drawn up family tree going back five generations. No wonder that there is more fiction in the traditions about this family than traceable truth, but a sufficiently reliable picture may be evolved from the partly contradictory statements given to us and from well-known events in the history of Sindh.

In the 15th century the Baluch, then on the western frontier of Sindh, became restless and began to infiltrate into the land. There are many different theories about the origin and history of the Baluch nation, but here we shall deal with them only from the time of their arrival in Sindh. The reasons for their migration — whether pushed out by other peoples or forced by desiccation to look for new abodes — are in this connexion of no importance either. It is sufficient for us to know that they lived for an indefinite period of time in Makran before they appeared in Sindh. More and more of them came and they grew to be politically important. Some of them, becoming courtiers of the Kalhora dynasty (1705—1783), finally supplanted the Kalhoras and formed the Talpur dynasty (1783—1843), which was in turn deposed by the British.

But the process of invasion was not uniform for all Baluch groups, some of which coming to ruling power, some mixing with the original inhabitants of Sindh, and some entering the military service of local war-lords. One of these groups were the Karmati-Baluch, which, as the tradition goes, got their name from the river Karmat, on the banks of which they had lived in Makran. Their first stronghold in Sindh was Baro, from whence they went to Malir and then to Mirpur Sakro, on the western side of the river Indus, where they received Jagirs first from the Kalhora, and later from the Talpur rulers.

Apparently the river Indus has been at all times an obstacle to migrational movements. Accordingly we find even today more Baluch communities west of the Indus than on the eastern side. But some of them crossed the river nevertheless and settled down on the eastern side. Among these groups were some Karmati-Baluch, although the main body of the tribe stayed behind in Mirpur Sakro. The heads of

one family of the Karmati-Baluch east of the river Indus became the Maliks of the Jats, or, to proceed with caution, this is the official version of the story.

The Maliks' family traces its origin back to two ancestors, the brothers Hamar and Radho. Of them it was said (but not by the family itself, as shall be discussed presently) that they came to Jati in the second half of the 17th century and that they here received Jagirs from Aurangzeb. That they did hold title deeds from the court in Delhi can be proven by historical documents. W. Hamilton[2] wrote, even before the English occupied Sindh: "In 1809 Hamier Khan and Omar Khan were the principal Jut chieftains. In this tribe the females exercise an influence over the men, rarely permitted among the followers of the Koran, and a woman can, when she chooses, leave her husband and marry another." When the English made their first survey of Sindh, for the purpose of levying taxes, we read[3]: "Umlick Jehan Khan is the chief of the Jutts, a very numerous tribe of the Delta, and he holds his land under a grant, in continuation of title deeds, from the Delhi emperor, antecedent to the rule of the Talpoors." Writing in 1907, Aitken[4] informs us: "There were 77,920 Jats in Sindh in 1901, and those in the south of the province have a chief, who is Malik Ghulam Husein wd Malik Jahen Khan, of Jati, a first Class Jagirdar." "First class" in this context means that the Malik had to pay no taxes whatever, a privilege granted by the English only when convincing evidence could be presented that the land had been the acknowledged possession of the family for a long time. It should be noted here that due to the influence of the English government, former vassals became landlords, who had only to show their documents in order to be sure of their property, instead of having to fight for it. Thereby the tribal life was profoundly changed, as we shall see later on.

Although there is sufficient evidence to prove that the present Malik-family has provided Maliks for the Jats of the Delta since the time of the Moghuls, one can only guess how they achieved this position. Ansari[5] is very definite: "The expression Jat-Baloch means 'camel-driving Baloch'. In Mir-Shakar's time a number of low-caste Balochis were employed in loading, leading and grazing his trains and flocks of camels, and those Balochis and their descendants were

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[2] Walter *Hamilton:* The East India Gazetteer, London 1828, p. 63.

[3] Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. LXVI, New Series, Bombay 1862, p. 48.

[4] *Aitken:* Gazetteer of Sindh, 1907, p. 174.

[5] Ali Sher Ali *Ansari:* A short Sketch Historical and Traditional of the Musulman Races found in Sindh, Baluchistan and Afghanistan, Karachi 1901, p. 29-30.

called 'Jat-Baloch'. The Jat-Baloch tribe is found in the Jati-Taluka of the Karachi District and in Katch Bhuj territory. Their chief, Malik Ghulam Husein, son of Malik Jahan Khan, commonly called Raj Malik, or Malik Raj, lives in Raj Malik, a small village in the Taluka Jati." But he has mixed up various facts which must be kept separate, as we shall see in the chapter, "Different meanings of the word Jat".

No one else has expressed any serious doubt that the Jat in Sindh are an older element than the Baluch, the most recent immigrants into the country. But the Jat as well as the Baluch show a marked tendency to assimilate. The prestige and power of a Baluch chief depended on the strength of his body of followers, and the warlike Jat were of great value for every army. On the other hand, the Jats were a subjugated people, hence of lower social rank. They were and are eager to rise in the social scale, and this is best achieved by alleging a higher extraction — if anyone will believe them. But in any case, the social ambition of the Jat tempts them to claim a descent from a higher caste than their own, especially when dealing with strangers. They tend to call themselves Baluch in Lower Sindh, Pathans in Upper Sindh and Rajput in the Punjab. To support such claims, some historical fairy tales are always at hand, preferably about some liaisons between a person of higher caste with one of themselves. For instance, we were told that Jato, the daughter of Mir Chakar, the most famous hero of the Rind-Baluch, entered into a liason with a Jat, and from this Jato all the Jat claim descent. According to a more widely accepted version, Jato is the ancestress of the Jatoi-tribe. Both versions show that there are tribes which claim descent from an ancestress other than the usually claimed ancestor.

Along the same lines goes a story about the Malik-family which is, of course, not told by the family itself, but by their people: One of their ancestors, Radho the Baluch, married a Jatni, which enabled him to become Malik of the Jat. His own offspring remained Baluch, but of lower rank. As the Malik-family follows the endogamic marriage-rules valid for all Oraks, they would not accept this tale, but it would be quite wrong to see in such stories only slander. They give an indication of the greater importance of women in the public life of the Jat than is usual with Arabic or Islamic tribes. The same has already been stated by Hamilton, and other references shall follow, so that we may conclude that such tales contain a potential, if not an actual truth.

There is another quasi-historical account, according to which the Malik-family is of purely Jat origin. This version is contained in the

family records of Pir Ali Shad Jilani. Here it is told that Shah Kaderi, the ancestor of this family, came in 1358 A.D. from Baghdad to Sindh as a missionary. The Malik-family of Jati is named among those, who were then won for Islam. And from this it would follow, since they lived there before the Baluch came, that they must be Jat by caste. But there is some reason to suspect this story. The Pir's family expects those people whose forefathers were converted to Islam by Shah Kaderi to reciprocate for this service with gifts. From the Malik, a rich landlord, they could expect a substantial contribution, and this leads to a reasonable speculation as to whether the tradition is in all its details unbiased.

The Malik-family itself is undecided as to which group they wish to be associated with. This has various important practical reasons, which will be discussed in connection with the land-reform planned by the present government. The main reason is, however, that they were never particularly interested in history and in the past. The Karmati-Baluch claim them as their own people, and being not much interested either way, they are willing to accept the claim, although as they themselves say, there is no proof of it. Their own family story runs as follows: Before the time of the Moghuls, Mula Hasan came to the grave of Moghulbin, near Jati. Mula Hasan came from Arabia, and as he arrived in Moghulbin he was accompanied by the two brothers Hamar and Radho. It is not known from which country they came. Mula Hasan was a Pir and received the inspiration to wander about until he felt tired, then on that spot to settle down and await his death. This happened at Guni and all three of them stayed there. Mula Hasan died first, then Hamar, then Radho. The grave of Mula Hasan is in Guni, and he is the true Murshid of all Jat — although he was not mentioned by any of the Oraks. The Maliks are offspring of Hamar, who was the elder brother; the Radhani are the younger line, the descendants of Radho. Malikani and Radhani maintain mutual marriage-relations. As mentioned above, the Malik-family has only recently become interested in their family tree. They could not trace back more than five generations, as far as one Ghulam Husein, son of Malik Jahan Khan, who was mentioned in 1862 in the Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government. Records concerning the generations between this Ghulam Husein and the ancestors Hamar and Radho have all been lost.

But if the mythical ancestor Hamar is out of reach, there still exists another Hamar, about whom folklore contains some tales. As it is the custom throughout Sindh to name children after their forefathers, preferably after the grandparents, there is nothing exceptional

about discovering more than one Hamar in the same family tree. The historically known Hamar lived in the Delta-region and was famous for his hospitality, about which some proverbs are in vogue even today. By this hospitality, by gallantry and fortune in war, he gathered a great following, known then and now as Hamar-Jat. Such a body of adherents was all important for an ambitious war-lord seeking an official position, for it was the strength and quality of his army which made him valuable to a sovereign, and the followers of a lucky war-lord found with him that security of property and life which was available in those times.

Since the relationship between a war-lord and his followers was reciprocal, the group would continue to grow as long as the luck of the leader held out. Hence when a famous war-lord was invested with a Jagir, thus acquiring an official position and land to fall back upon, there occured a transformation of his following into a political unit, or into a tribe as a political institution.

Without doubt Hamar was a lucky war-lord who got a Jagir. As this took place, according to family records, in the 18th century, it is possible that he was a Baluch. The tradition in the Malik-family corresponds to this version insofar as Hamar and Radho are described as immigrants without families who came from the West and who began to multiply only after settling down in the country. It is not stated that they were Baluch, but neither that they were Jat, so that the possibility exists that they were enterprising and successful foreigners from the West. And if they were not Baluch themselves, then at least they were allied with them when the Baluch came to power in Sindh, adapting themselves to the pattern set by the Baluch as rulers over a substratum of older tribes as kinship units.

As the traceable history of the Maliks and their tribe begins with the acquisition of a Jagir, a discussion of the functional aspects of the Malik-institution is best introduced by considering the obligations associated with being a Jagirdar, the vassal of a sovereign.

c) Functional relations within the tribe

In former times the main duty of a Jagirdar was, when summoned, to support his sovereign with an army. The number of soldiers he had to provide was dependent on the size of his land and the density of its population. In times of peace the Jagirdar was expected to guard the boundaries of his own country in the interest of his feudal lord against any possible invader. A Jagir was given in acknowledgment of bravery and loyalty and could be withdrawn if the services ren-

dered were regarded inadequate. Loyalty in time of war was always a risk for the Jagirdar as well as for his followers, for in case of defeat land and life might both be lost. But the luck of Hamar continued with his offspring. From the time of Aurangzeb up to the present, their rule over their land, and later over their property remained undisturbed. Hence the relations between the Malik and his Jat-tribe continued for a period of at least 200 years, becoming consolidated into a fixed form, which only very recently has shown signs of disintegration. At present it is still possible to observe all its main features in operation, and these shall be described presently.

The institution of Jagirs and Jagirdars is looked upon as one of the most natural things in the world. There have been Jagirs as long as there have been kings, it is said, meaning from time immemorial. There is a strong feeling of mutual solidarity between Malik and tribe. "If I would call them today", the Malik said, "they would all come, bringing for battle what there is at their hands, rifles, knives or sticks." This is a pattern of long standing. Before the British came, war could be expected at any time, either through feuds, in the struggle for land, or in obedience to a call from the sovereign. The common tribesman was thus perpetually armed with such weapons as stood at his disposal and this also served as his armament in time of war. When called he was ready on the spot.

It is significant in the relationship between Malik and tribe that he did not maintain a regular army, with officers and military drill, which could have been used to keep him in power, but rather that his entire influence depended on loyalty. The leaders of his soldiers were likewise leaders of the biologically constituted subgroups. If he was not able to engage them in his service, he exposed himself to the danger of losing the source of his power. Consequently he took the trouble to keep in close contact with them at all times, being more a patriarchal than a despotic figure. And this is even today one of the characteristics of the relationship between Malik and tribe.

Besides being obliged to support his sovereign in war, the Jagirdar could be summoned to provide him with other kinds of assistance, e.g., financial aid. To enable him to accomplish this, he was made supreme lord of his land, with the power to levy and collect taxes; he represented the highest legal jurisdiction, and it was up to him to rule with severity or laxity. A misuse of his authority was counteracted by the threat of losing followers, for to disappoint the expectations of his people was easy. They expected him to show strength in suppressing mischief-makers, but to be otherwise benevolent, generous and hospitable. This attitude has been maintained up to the present and

is still one of the main functions of the Malik today, to resolve disputes between his tribesmen

After the victory of the British at Miani in the year 1843, the old system of vassalage, meaning the obligation to support a sovereign in war, came to an end. The Jagirdars were no more summoned to military aid. It could be expected that the tribal system would break down, robbed of one of its main functions. But even today there are only slight traces of disintegration, meaning that the non-military functions of the Malik were also important and even at the present time cannot be dispensed with. With regard to his judicial and administrative obligations, every detail can be rationally described and explained. But there is also an irrational or emotional element involved in the attitude of the tribesmen towards him. It is natural that he should be treated with respect, being the head of the tribe, but this respect is mingled with something more — with reverence. People humble themselves before him by kneeling, kissing his hand, being shy and obedient, even if he requests something contrary to the usual custom. In a way, the Malik is above custom. He is allowed to enter every house, to see the women unveiled, to speak to them, and deviations from the accepted rules of behavior, if sanctioned by him, are permitted, for instance, that foreigners may also visit the houses, speak to the people, and so on. His orders are obeyed in the desire to please and submit to him. This attitude bears a resemblance to that towards Pirs, holy men, who are the spiritual leaders of their disciples. Everybody knows, of course, that the Malik is not a Pir, and if asked, the Jat would deny that they look upon him as such, but he is apparently nevertheless to many of his tribesmen more than a tribal leader, viz., a spiritual leader. This peculiarity has nothing to do with the above-mentioned tribal system of authority, but it does help the Malik to fulfil his duties and gives him strong support in his position.

An interesting deviation from the norm — always revealing the forces of adaptation at work — is seen in the Malik-family itself. The norm is primogeniture, and the coronation ceremony was accordingly carried out for the eldest son of Bakader Khan, Ghulam Husein Khan. He is the Pagaro. But all the official functions of the Malik are delegated to his younger brother, Mamun Khan. For this state of affairs only personal reasons were given — as, for instance, Ghulam Husein Khan's preference for a quiet and retired life. But the result is that the people gradually cease to regard Mamun Khan as a delegate and see in him their true Malik. Mamun Khan is exceptionally gifted for this official position, having all those traits for which his ancestor Hamar was famous. He looks after the affairs of the tribe, which shall be now described in detail.

It is only natural that the frequency of personal contact between Malik and Wadero declines in proportion to the distance between their respective domiciles. To prevent an alienation and a possible secession from the tribal community on the part of those Oraks living on the outskirts of the tribal area, the Malik used to visit all the Oraks at regular intervals. Such visiting tours were conducted every one to three years. On the occasion of his visit, the Waderos called together the council of men of their respective Oraks and the ensuing meeting lasted as long as was necessary to adjust all cases of law and disputes between persons and groups. On the same occasion new Waderos were invested, new Wagdars acknowledged, complaints against those in office heard and settled, and new Oraks established.

The application for the establishment of a new Orak is submitted by the people themselves. There may by several reasons for this: one Orak may have so multiplied in population and livestock that one Wadero is no longer able to look properly after its affairs; or one part of an Orak may want to emigrate to another place within or outside of the tribal area and thinks it appropriate to manage its affairs itself. A prerequisite for the consent of the Malik is a minimum number of members for the intended new Orak, so that the prescribed endogamy of the Orak is guaranteed. If a new Orak is permitted, the Malik nominates its Wadero, usually in accordance with the wishes of the Orak, although it is his privilege to make an appointment against those wishes. The same procedure is followed when a Wadero dies without male descendants. Once the Wadero of the new Orak has been installed ceremonially, the Malik informs all other Waderos of this fact, and from that time on the new Orak is officially in existence.

The cases brought before the Malik during his visit are those which the Wadero could not adjust himself. As the Malik's representative, the Wadero is entitled to administer justice, but disputes between Oraks and cases in which a verdict is rejected by the litigants are beyond his jurisdiction. The Malik is then appealed to as the last instance. There are regular stages of appeal: family council, lineage council, Wadero, and Malik. The Jat, like most people, take their time when discussing their affairs, so that it is a long road to the ultimate court of the Malik. The result is that emotions aroused by petty anger often cool down before higher instances are involved. No case that has not proven insoluble for the minor instances is submitted to the Malik, and for this reason he is expected to hear every case submitted to him and to deal with it immediately. He is empowered to impose fines and corporal punishment, but no longer capital punishment. This is now the exclusive prerogative of the government courts.

The Malik is always accompanied by servants, but today these are only personal servants, without official functions or positions. Every Orak receives the Malik festively and takes this opportunity to give him such presents in money or goods as it thinks appropriate, since they do not have to pay him fixed taxes. In compensation the Malik helps support the poor and responds in emergencies. It is the duty of the Waderos to look after widows and orphans, but it is becoming for a Malik to be generous in other ways, and in years of famine he alone can provide the necessary help.

To reciprocate for these visiting tours, the Waderos are obliged to appear at the funeral rites of a dead Malik and at the coronation ceremonies of a new one. Not every Orak can send a delegation to the funeral, since the Jat are to a large extent nomads and may not get the news in time, but as the coronation ceremonies usually take place some months after the funeral, everyone is then acquainted with the facts. Not to appear at the investiture of a new Malik then means a denial of loyalty and a secession from the tribal community. As described above, each Wadero is equipped for this occasion with one kerchief for the folding of the turban and with presents of goods or money which have been collected from the Orak. After the folding of the turban a communal banquet is given by the new Malik. This feast lays the foundation for the new Malik's reputation as a generous, a frugal, or a niggardly ruler. In his later relations with the Oraks much will depend on the impression he makes on the occasion of his first official appearance. The manner in which the Malik fulfils one further obligation displays the degree of his intended generosity or economy: Even well-to-do common tribesmen maintain a guest-house, and the number of guest-houses kept by the Malik and the services rendered there indicate his willingness to be hospitable.

When dealing in the common interest, the Malik has the right to summon to him those Waderos he thinks necessary. There are also usages prescribed for such special occasions. If one Wadero is to be deposed, it is expected that at least four other Waderos will be present as witnesses. Although the Malik is not subject to their will, the idea is that they should be heard on this occasion in order to avoid unpopular measures. If there is enmity between Oraks, usually caused by some case of adultery, the Malik will call the Waderos concerned and straighten the matter out. An assembly of all the Waderos was formerly required in the case of war, but nowadays there is rarely a necessity for a plenary meeting. One of the last ones concerned cattle-lifting, a pastime to which many a Sindhi tribe is addicted. As cattle-lifting no longer involves the danger of tribal war, it now tends to excess. Some years ago this problem resulted in enmity between many

Oraks, but in a plenary meeting the Malik was able to reduce this situation to normal proportions.

In the presence of the Malik the Waderos conform to the established etiquette. The Malik, for his part, must keep in mind the relative rank of each person present and assign a place to him accordingly. Much tact is required to place everyone satisfactorily, the honours bestowed on others being noted jealously, even if differences in rank are publicly disclaimed. All Oraks and all Waderos are equal, it is said, but that this is only partly true shall be discussed later. An acknowledged difference is that of age. From their earliest years children are taught to respect older persons, and therefore the speaking order is determined by age, younger Waderos often seeking the intercession of an older one. But the weight of their votes depends on the Orak they are speaking for, and nobody knows this better than the Malik. When the Malik makes a decision in opposition to all those present, which does not happen often, he does so not on the strength of his position as tribal leader, but on that of being the biggest and most wealthy landlord.

This leads us to the next point, dealing with the changes in tribal organization, from the establishment of British rule in Sindh up to the present.

d) Changes in the tribal organization after the advent of the British government

As was indicated above, the tribal organization as a political unit only now shows the first sign of disintegration. Radical changes due to British influence can be observed in the economic sector, but these shall be discussed later on, after the relationship between the Malik as the tribal leader and his people has been completely described.

After the Partition (1947), a Pakistani government was formed under Mohammed Ali Jinna. This first government, and all following later, decided, as did the British, to leave things as they were with the tribes, i.e., to acknowledge and to support the tribal leaders, with one limitation of their rights: that only governmental lawcourts should have the sanction to inflict capital punishment. There were good reasons for both decisions. Although most of the Pakistani tribes believed in Islam long before the Partition, there were still differences between tribal law and Shariah. Those differences, small as they were, conditioned the actions and reactions of the tribesmen. In order to do them justice, the officials confer with special arbitrators who must be as

expert in local law as the Malik himself, having long experience in administering tribal justice.

Excepted from the jurisdiction of the Malik are all cases of murder and manslaughter, as they involve the danger of feuds and tribal war. These are customs the government wishes to suppress and in this endeavor it has been successful, as far as the Delta-region is concerned. In addition, all cases in which the litigants do not consent to the verdict of the Malik or cases of adultery which cannot be settled satisfactorily must be taken to the governmental law-courts for fear of unfortunate incidents. It is the duty of the Malik to report all such cases to the officials and to attend the legal proceedings, often as a mediator on behalf of his tribesmen. The costs of the proceedings are collected by and from the members of the Oraks involved, as blood-money was collected in former times. But if the case goes to a court of appeal everything is left to the Malik, as only he is competent to deal with officials and all things alien to custom, as a second proceeding is to the tribesmen.

The Jat are happy with their present Malik, as he has been versed in custom since childhood, born and raised in the village where he now lives, Raj Malik, the traditional residence of the Malik-family. On the other hand he is not intimidated by modern ways and the changes they bring, and is hence a good mediator between the often conservative way of life of the Oraks and the new times. For this statement only one example shall be given. In 1953 the Malik held a plenary meeting of the tribe, with the ultimate purpose of preparing his election by the tribe as a member of Parliament. This scheme failed for many reasons, but the meeting itself is of historical importance inasmuch as those present were listed in a book and several changes in custom were proposed and accepted.

The assembly-register containing the name, residence and Orak-membership of all participants, is for this reason alone a valuable document. All in all, there were 4,700 persons present, for the most part Waderos and other delegates of the Oraks. The number of commoners was small. As the boundaries between Sindh and Cutchh were hermetically closed only after 1955/56, a good number of those present came from Cutchh, indicating by their participation that at that time they regarded Ghulam Husein Khan as their Malik. The closing of the frontier broke the tribe up into two halves, but it is obvious that as late as 1953 the central political personage of the tribe was the Malik in Jati, Raj Malik.

At this same last plenary meeting of the tribe, the Malik took a stand in favor of some changes in the (then) usual customs. He advo-

cated a change in the method of appointment of Waderos; he wished them to be elected, election then being the modern slogan. To this motion the assembly reacted negatively. The Malik's next proposal was to forbid women of the camel-nomads to visit the market-places, where they had traded since time immemorial. This was done with the intention of improving the reputation of the whole tribe, which was lowered if its women appeared in public. This recommendation was accepted. The petition of a group of Mir-Jat to be accepted as a new Orak of the tribe was regarded unfavourably by the Malik, who did not consider them to be true Jat. The Mir-Jat will be discussed later on. Although the Malik was perhaps in error on that occasion, he was nevertheless able to carry his point.

There is no possibility of predicting the future of the tribe, which is an organization belonging essentially to the past and sure to disintegrate sooner or later, but it is certain that a good deal will depend on the actions of the Malik. Some difficulties arise from the fact that the Malik-family is not unbiased in its attitude towards the tribesmen as a result of the economic development during the time of British rule, which was mentioned above and shall be discussed now.

Even in the times of vassalage the Jagirdars were not only the military leaders of their people, but also the guarantors and responsible defenders of their lands. The boundaries of a Jagir were rarely wide enough for the migrations of a nomadic people, but in times of war one could take refuge within its boundaries. In the case of the tribesmen who farmed the land, relations to the Malik were closer, for they were more directly subordinated to him than the nomads. But at that time the ownership of land was loosely organized, in relative rather than absolute terms. The sovereign was supreme lord and awarded land to Jagirdars in return for the fulfilment of fixed obligations. In the same manner the Jagirdars awarded land to their tribesmen in return for their carrying out fixed duties. The pattern was the same, so that the Jagirdar, although holding a higher position, never forgot his dependence on the good will of his followers. One level of their relationship was human equality, another was social differentiation, the Jagirdar being in this respect only one link in a chain.

The British, imposing their own conception of property on their colonies, changed this relative ownership of land into an absolute one, thereby charging certain persons with specific responsibilities to the government as far as taxes and administration were concerned. Consequently the attitude of the landowners, called Zamindars, towards their tribesmen as farm-hands was altered. It consolidated into a permanent relationship as landlord and Harri — as the agricultural la-

bourers are called — often entailing the indebtedness of the Harri and lowering him to a social inferior to whom the landlord was the supreme master. In addition to this changing attitude in general, the number of Harris increased as a result of the British irrigation schemes. Hence a growing part of the tribe became Harris, meaning that they were valued less. An unscrupulous exploitation of the Jats as Harris was checked, as they remained at all times tribesmen, being in this capacity even today of some political and social importance to the Malik-family. Nevertheless, a tendency to suppress and exploit them developed and is perceptible still in the intercourse between Malik and Harris, regardless of whether they are tribal members or not.

The Malik-family in their role as landlords hold to the usual financial arrangements. If the Harri rents the land at his own risk, providing seed, implements, and draught animals himself, 50 % of the crop is the landlord's share. This share grows according to the help required from the Zamindar. If the Harri has to take seed, implements, and animals on loan, his own share can diminish to a twelfth part of the harvest. Naturally there are many differences of opinion between Harris and Zamindars about the division of the crop. The position of the Harri becomes worse if he has contracted a debt during bad harvest years. This he will probably never be able to pay off if his Zamindar demands compound interest.

Although no Jat complained about the Malik in his capacity of Zamindar — meaning that he treated them fairly — the Malik nevertheless took what was due him. Nobody expected him to do otherwise, but this was accompanied by some friction, which culminated in the secession of some groups from the tribal community. This was compensated by the arrival of new groups, who had left other Zamindars hoping for a better life as Harris of the Malik-family. It seems that a certain mobility of groups has always been a normal feature of tribal organizations, but the desire to look for better working conditions as a Harri is peculiar to the last 100 years. As it is consistent with the ambition of the Malik-family to make the most of their land, it is possible that a marked tendency toward disintegration of the whole tribe may develop.

The question, "Are the Jat our tribesmen or our Harris" has so far been solved admirably by dividing the functions between the members of the Malik-family. The older brother, the real Pagaro of the tribe, has decided to be nothing but Zamindar, the younger brother taking care of all obligations as head of the tribe. But the future of the Malik-family itself will depend on their land, not on their authority as tribal leaders, and this they realize very well. Unfortunately it has be-

come a problem for them to keep their land. In 1962, in the course of government land-reforms, the Jagir of the Malik was recalled, as his family held more land than was permitted by the new regulation. The land taken away from them will be auctioned off to Harris, who will have to pay for their new property on an instalment basis. The proceeds will be paid to the Malik-family as compensation. Even if their material wealth will not be diminished, the Malik's hold on the land and his Harris will nevertheless be reduced and this will probably lead to a change in the social structure of the tribe. It is in the interest of many thousands of Jat, who depend on the Malik's advice as head of the tribe, that he still remain for some time their accepted leader, to help them in the process of culture change.

As it can be expected that the tribal system will dissolve in the near future, all facts observed about its functioning and structure, incomplete as they may be, are of great interest to everyone wishing to understand conditions of life in the past. At the same time, every feature of present tribal life may be of importance for any possible acculturation. For this reason the tribal structure apart from political authority will be dealt with next.

e) The Oraks and their rank

As mentioned before, differences in social standing between the Oraks are consciously denied, and this may be true as far as the dealings of Oraks with the Malik are concerned. But it is not quite true for the internal intercourse between the Oraks as such. Deviations from the norm are revealing as to the historical or presently existing forces at work, as could be seen in the division of functions between the members of the Malik-family. What, then, are the foundations of the social scale of the Oraks?

A natural advantage is given to an Orak by the number of its members, a group of 5,000 carrying more weight than one of 50. A numerically insignificant Orak can enjoy a high rank only by some extraordinary distinction, for instance, if its members can claim descent from a venerated Pir; but these are exceptions to the rule. The quantity of persons depends on the birth and death rate, and the growth of the Orak has purely biological reasons. In the course of several generations a group can increase its original number by many times. If the number becomes so large that it seems advisable to split up the Orak, a new Orak is constituted as described above. Extraction from another Orak entails a comparatively lower status, in the same way that younger persons have a lower status than older ones. The inter-

relationship of the Oraks thus depends on descent, which, as has been said, is of no importance in regard to the political system of the tribe as a whole. Thus the interrelationship of the Oraks is governed by a slow process of steady change, which can be accurately described for the past, but which cannot be predicted for the future. The biologically determined processes of growth and decay are influential in tribal systems wherever and whenever they are found, but these processes, perceptible only over longer periods of time, have never been exactly recorded.

The rank-system of the Oraks may be influenced furthermore by historical and accidental events peculiar to this tribe alone. An investigation of the foundations of this entire system will give us some insight into the tribal organizations of Pakistan in general, as well as into some peculiarities of this one.

In this connection it will be sufficient only to mention that there are other Malik-personages living in the borderland of the tribal area. An occasional exchange of Oraks with them may occur, but it is of no importance to the tribal organization as such. These Maliks may be tribal leaders, such as the Malik of Jati (for instance Malik Ghoz Mohammed in Mirpur Sakro, by descent also a Karmati-Baluch), or they may only be called Malik, which is then an honorary title for some important Zamindar who has no tribal relationship with his Harris.

Of greater importance for the tribal structure of the Jat are those tribes which existed before the Maliks of Jati founded their supremacy and whose leading families were able to maintain some of their privileges. The Malik of Jati pretends to know nothing of such prerogatives, or, when confronted by facts which contradict him, asserts that special distinctions of Oraks and their leaders were instituted by his forefathers for various reasons. But information from some of the Waderos and from our best informant on tribal history, Ahmed Fakir Salarani, showed the matter in a somewhat different light. Only statements tallying with each other shall be mentioned here.

There exists a genealogical table for all Oraks of the tribe, including the Orak of the Maliks, the so-called Malakani. In this table three groups of Oraks stand out, bound inwardly by kinship and set apart from the others by certain peculiarities.

The first group includes the Malakani and is called collectively Karmati. As the existence of Karmati-Jat was definitely denied, this could only mean Karmati-Baluch, and this implies that this group of six Oraks called Karmati consists of all those families which are of Baluch origin.

The second group of five Oraks does not possess a collective name, but comprises all those groups which derive their origin from a holy man, or Fakir. One Orak of this group is named for this characteristic, i.e., Fakirani, or sometimes after this ancestor himself, Sanwelani. It shall be shown that in this case an older tribe was annexed.

The third group of fourteen Oraks is named collectively Lakhani. To characterize this group it was said that they are buffalo- or goat-herdsmen. The name is derived from one Lakho, according to tradition one of the five military leaders of the Jat who helped Mohammed b. Kasim to conquer Sindh and Cutchh in 711 A. D. This Lakho had a son, Joge, also a military leader, who is claimed by six further Oraks as their ancestor; they may be discussed together with the Lakhani.

The Lakhani have a Malik of their own, Nur Mohammed, whose residence is in Siraro in Cutchh. He and other members of his family have Jagirs in Cutchh, a refuge for those Oraks who consider themselves to be of his people. It is a widely held opinion among the Jat that Nur Mohammed is the Malik of the Jat in Cutchh, but Ghulam Husein Khan the Malik in Sindh, and that this had been so even long before the Partition. Thirty Oraks acknowledge Nur Mohammed as Malik, twenty of which seeing in him their own Malik. The Malik in Jati looks upon this tradition unfavourably. He declares Nur Mohammed to be only a Wadero, certainly of an especially large Orak with many subgroups, but nevertheless only a Wadero. They, the Maliks of Jati, for practical reasons awarded to the Wadero of the Lakhani the *title* Malik. Most of the Lakhani are nomads and it has always been difficult to come in contact with them. As their Wadero lived and roamed about with them, it was found practical to delegate the authority of the Malik to him, symbolized by the title of Malik, so that he could properly look after the affairs of his people. That he was but a subordinate could be proven by the fact that the Malik in Jati is privileged to let his animals graze duty-free on the land of Nur Mohammed, and that Nur Mohammed himself attended the plenary meeting of the tribe in 1953, registering himself in the assembly-book only as Nur Mohammed Lakhani. Nothing was known about Nur Mohammed being a Jagirdar in Cutchh.

Today, now that the frontier between Sindh and Cutchh has been closed since 1955/56, Nur Mohammed is undoubtedly the one and only Malik of the Jat in Cutchh, while Ghulam Husein Khan of those in Sindh. But there is no doubt that before this event the Oraks in Sindh and Cutchh formed an inseparable unit, the nomadic groups having all the pasture-areas in common. In consequence Nur Mohammed could

not avoid dealing with the Maliks in Jati, acknowledging them as his superiors. On the other hand, it is a fact that he at least had the title Malik and was a Jagirdar, and that in some way his people were looked upon as having a special way of life. These are strong indications that the Lakhani in former times were a tribe of their own, annexed by the Sindhi Maliks. How strongly some of the Lakhani adhere to their nomadic way of life is illustrated by the example of the Nawalakhani. These had their abodes in Sindh. When some eight years ago these were irrigated and partly put under cultivation, they decided to emigrate to Cutchh before the boundary was closed. Nur Mohammed was their refuge; he accepted them and allowed them to graze their buffaloes on his Jagirs.

That the Lakhani were of greater importance to the Maliks in Jati than other Oraks or groups of Oraks reveals a tradition which was again mentioned by the Jats and rejected by the Malik. There is an Orak in Cutchh and in Sindh, called Bijar Pota, which claims as its ancestor the same Lakho who is the ancestor of the Lakhani. The Wadero of the Bijar Pota inherits by primogeniture the honorary title of Bijar Khan. When a new Bijar Khan is invested, the Waderos of seven other Oraks (Lakhani, Iburani, Ajani, Bhamburani, Bagrani, Babrani and Nawalakhani) come with kerchiefs for the ceremonial folding of the turban. That this ceremony symbolizes sub- and superordination was explained above. The above listed Oraks are all those which in other contexts are described as being mainly buffalo-nomads. The interesting point here is that the characteristics of nomadism and buffalo-breeding are again considered remarkable, as was the case with the Lakhani. The respect shown to Bijar Khan is explained by the Jat by the following tradition: The first Bijar Khan came from Cutchh. He wished to marry a girl of the Malik-family and the Malik agreed, but to make him equal in rank, appointed him as his Wazir with the title of Malik. The Malik in Cutchh resented this and broke off all relations with Bijar Khan. The relations between the later Maliks of Jati and Bijar Khan faded, there remaining only a special privilege for every Bijar Khan when visiting the Malik: He is entitled to the highest place of honour beside the Malik. The Malik declared every word of this tradition to be false, and explained the place of honour due to the present Bijar Khan as an permanent expression of the reverence felt for the first Bijar Khan, a pious and holy man. Thus it is an established fact that two figures of the Lakhani group are closest in rank to the Malik. Until proven wrong it can be supposed that at some former time the Maliks in Cutchh and Sindh were rivals for political power and that the Malik of Jati won this competition, the members

of the subdued family becoming his vassals, just as he himself was a vassal of his sovereign.

Thus the probability is great that the Lakhani are an older tribe, subjugated by the Maliks of Jati, and that the same holds true for the Fakirani. Of all Oraks they are the most zealous observers of the endogamy rules demanded in principle of every Orak.

As there are five other Oraks, besides the Fakirani, who claim descent from a Fakir, a word about the religious situation in Sindh before the Partition may not be out of place. In Sindh, as in Cutchh today, Moslems and Hindus lived side by side. In Sindh, one of the first Indian provinces conquered by the Arabs, Islam spread quickly and widely. Especially the Jat had a tendency to become Moslems. It was a way to free themselves from the suppression of the Hindu caste-system and to improve their social position by assimilation into the victorious and ruling class. A similar tendency stimulated the Jāt in the Punjab to accept Sikhism, and this same tendency can be observed today in the case of the lower classes, who are more easily converted to Christianity than the upper classes.

A special feature of Islam in Sindh — in other Indian provinces as well, but here we are concerned only with Sindh — was the institution of Murshid and Murids.

The Murshids were and are holy men, otherwise called Pir or Fakir, but in their capacity as spiritual leaders, they are called Murshid. Without going into the origin of this institution, it can be said that the influence of the Murshids is now diminishing, at least in rationalistic circles, but that in former times it was tremendous. A ready belief in miracles credited them with wonderful deeds, some of them of supernatural quality, for which they were loved by their followers und feared by their enemies. Famous Fakirs had a large following and were thus, on another level, as influential as military leaders could possibly be. Hence in pre-British times they were sometimes granted Jagirs.

One of those influential, beloved and feared Fakirs was the ancestor of the Fakirani, Sanwelo. He received a large Jagir near Lakhpath in Cutchh, his residence being Piper Golar, where his grave is situated and where the Khalife, his great-grandson, Ali Mohammed, now lives. Ali Mohammed is the recognized Wadero of the Fakirani, but to the members of his Orak he is more than this. The Fakirani call him their Pagaro und their Murshid, and in this double capacity he means more to them emotionally than the Maliks in Jati and Cutchh. Besides his lands in Lakhpath, he holds land in Kharochan (Sindh), but decided some years ago to make his permanent residence

in Cutchh. This means that his people in Sindh are now separated from him, a fact which is lamented in words and songs.

Before leaving Sindh, Ali Mohammed installed a delegate, likewise called Khalife. He now looks after the Sindh Fakirani, observing the regular visiting tours, conducting the ceremonial shaving of the new-born and collecting the presents provided by the members of all sub-groups. Those presents are meant for Ali Mohammed, but as there is no possibility of crossing the frontier, or of transferring money without official permission (which is difficult to get), the position of the Khalife in Kharochan is slowly changing from that of a delegate to that of a Murshid in his own right.

Although presently all Fakirani, those in Sindh as well as those in Cutchh, think of themselves as belonging to one group, it can be predicted that this bond will progressively weaken, until one day it will finally be severed, making two groups of Fakirani, one in Sindh and one in Cutchh.

The Orak of the Fakirani is one of the largest of the Jat-tribe. We were told of about thirty subgroups, some of which being so numerous that they have their own Wadero. All in all, the number of their dwellings was estimated to be about 500, which means that there are at least 3,000 persons and probably more. Those living in Cutchh tend to lead a more sedentary life, either working as Harris on the land owned as Jagir by Ali Mohammed or being themselves small Zamindars, whereas the Fakirani in Sindh are mainly pronounced nomads, rearing special and highly valued breeds of camels. They live on the milk of their animals and earn good money by selling the young male animals at fairs, leaving it to the buyer to train the camels for riding or transport. Since the Fakirani camels are considered to have good pedigrees, they are usually trained for riding.

The way of life of the camel-nomads in Sindh provides some interesting features concerning the history of the Jat tribe, but this topic shall be dealt with presently. Here it must be mentioned that the Fakirani have preserved some peculiarities which distinguish them from all other Oraks and which hint at their having been an annexed tribe which was formerly independent. They have a special fair, a festive market held at the grave of their ancestor, Sanwelo. On this occasion they form a procession, singing and dancing around the grave, and which they end by offering wooden boats, one meter long and filled with sweets, to Sanwelo, whose grave is said to be surrounded by sea-water. No explanation for this custom was given, but it is a distinguishing characteristic. A duplicate of this grave is now

found at Kharochan and a fair with all its peculiar customs is held there at the same time as the fair is celebrated at the original grave. Thus can the Fakirani in Sindh keep up their tradition, but this marks a further step toward the separation of the Sindhi and Cutchh groups.

The Fakirani, in accordance with the Dabai in Sindh, erect a perculiar kind of house, built of reed-mats over a wooden frame. The rectangular groundplan is not outstanding, but the roof has an unusual vault, best compared to the shape of a shell or the bottom of a boat turned upwards. No practical reasons or any necessity for this vault could be brought forward; the usual explanation given was, "Our grandfathers made it this way, we are doing the same". But this type of house is peculiar to the camel-nomads, as other types are characteristic for the buffalo-nomads or the fishermen. Starting with these and other ethnographic differences, a classification of the Jat-tribe into certain groups can now be advanced, as shall be shown next.

f) Different ways of life

Differences in the way of life are manifold, since the Oraks of the Jat represent all variations from a purely sedentary life to that of full nomadism. Certainly a catalogue of all these differences would be of some scientific interest, but here we shall confine ourselves to such ethnographical data as can be used for historical interpretations.

An apparently irrelevant detail proved to be a clue to an important difference between some groups of the Jat-tribe. The houses of the camel-nomads, typically erected from reed-mats over a wooden frame, are called Pakho-houses. In contrast to this type there are so-called Manha-houses, intended for more permanent use. There is nothing special about distinguishing different types of houses, but if groups of people become identified with the houses they live in, it hints at some profound difference in their way of life. The Malik himself spoke of the Pakho-Raj and the Manahun-Raj of his tribe — using Raj in the sense of group — and estimated their proportion to be approximately 50-50. He was not able to give a specific explanation for this distinction, but agreed that it somehow separated nomadic and settled people.

Another expert on Jat affairs, the above-mentioned Ahmed Fakir Salarani, coming from Cutchh, was quite firm about another distinction. The name Pakho-Raj he regarded as misleading, since, according to him, the real designation of this group is Thattiar. In his opinion the Manahun-Raj are the people of Malik Ghulam Husein

Khan, while the Thattiar belong to Malik Nur Mohammed. The Manahun live in houses, sometimes erected a little carelessly, but houses nevertheless, whereas the Thattiar live (or better, lived) in tents. The word Thattiar was not known to the Malik but to many of the Jats. In Sindh the Jat thus described are all purely nomadic buffalo-breeders.

Summarizing these and other facts, it may be safely said that the Jat basically distinguish peasants from nomads, and in some way or other, different types of nomadism. This has a sound foundation in reality, as may be shown in the case of the camel-nomads.

Of all the Oraks of camel-breeders, the Fakirani are strictest in observing endogamy. Notwithstanding an occasional violation of this rule, the endogamic practice since time immemorial has had the effect of preserving some somatic peculiarities (which shall be discussed in a different context), and that the Fakirani feel themselves to be a group quite apart from all other groups. Their tendency toward social segregation is reinforced by the conditions of camel-breeding in the Delta-region. Camels can be grazed in tracts of land where no other domesticated animal can find subsistence, i. e., in the coastal areas and in semi-deserts such as the Thar and Thal. Even if sheep, goats, and buffaloes could feed on such meagre vegetation, it would be very difficult to provide water for the animals. To roam about in these wildernesses offers the possibility of avoiding contact with other people, and the Fakirani have a marked preference for living by themselves.

Their only means of existence is the camel. They are most emphatic in rejecting all kinds of agricultural employment. The irrigation schemes, started under British rule and continued under the Pakistani government, make pastureland increasingly scarce; the landlords, on the other hand, are short of farm-hands. In consequence thereof, the nomads are more and more obliged to ask for the right of pasture on land which has become the property of a Zamindar, who in return for letting them graze their animals forces them to help with the harvest. They have to accept, but they are very unhappy about it and tend to deny the fact that they are under contract, being ashamed of what they consider a degradation.

They are used to living for months on camel's milk alone, being thrown upon this diet if they migrate into the coastal area. At other times they take some rice and bread with the milk. Meat is a dish reserved for festivities in connection with religious ceremonies, circumcision, marriage and death. They enjoy mutton (the traditional offering at religious feasts), but also accept all other kinds of meat,

valuing camel meat most highly. This is a peculiarity of the camel-nomads, for all other Oraks and tribes refuse to eat the meat of this animal, as do camel-drivers, who often also raise camels.

Camel's milk has the peculiarity of not clotting. Thus it is impossible to prepare curds, butter or Ghi and to sell such milk-products to town-people. This normal source of income for cattle owners in Sindh is denied to the Fakirani. But they are ready to sell milk as such — if anybody is willing to buy it — an attitude strange for buffalo-nomads. They earn good money by selling young male animals when they are 9 to 12 months old. Such transactions are conducted at fairs, some of which they regularly attend. The number of young animals offered at the fairs depends on rearing conditions of the past year, but apart from this it may be said that there has developed a tendency for the demand to be in excess of the supply. All over Pakistan pasture-land has diminished in the last fifty years, restricting camel-breeding to smaller and smaller areas, but as the road-system has not yet been sufficiently developed, one cannot manage without camels as a means of transport in the deserts and semi-deserts. Until now the Fakirani have profited from this development, inasmuch as prices for one animal have gone up from 200-300 Rps. formerly to 700-800 Rps. nowadays. But as the same development threatens their whole pattern of life, theirs is a case of only tansitory gain. For the present, however, it is the general opinion that the camel-nomads are quite well-to-do, indicated, for instance, by the rich gold ornaments of their women.

Their breeds of camels are known throughout Sindh for their speed and stamina. Therefore they are preferably trained for riding and not as pack-animals. The pedigrees include only the female lines. The Fakirani are proud of their reputation as camel-breeders and refuse with disdain to hire themselves out as camel-drivers. This is all the more remarkable, as it is written and said everywhere in Sindh that Jat are camel-drivers, that the name means camel-drivers, and there are even numerous Jat-communities in Middle and Upper Sindh who maintain the same. These contradictory statements constitute a problem we must consider eventually, but for now it will suffice for our purpose to keep in mind that there are two distinct groups of camel-breeders: 1) pure nomads, who live on the milk of their animals; who value female camels higher than the male ones, which are sold to supply the main source of income; who never use camels for work, which in the extreme means that they use asses for the transportation of baggage; who are Jat by caste; 2) camel-breeders, who likewise use the milk of their animals, but value male camels higher

than females, the males being trained as pack-animals; who hire themselves out with their trained animals as camel-drivers (either working for a fee or a share of the profit) as their main source of income; who are Jat by profession.

Provisionally a distinction shall be made between Jat by caste, or camel-breeders only, and Jat by profession, who are camel-breeders and at the same time camel-drivers. Only the first group is meant by Postans[6] when he writes: "The Jutts are a quiet, inoffensive class, and exceedingly valuable subjects to the Sindh state, but have hitherto been much depressed ... The Jutt is as inseperable from the camel throughout Sindh, as the Arab from his horse in Arabia ..." These Jat tend to withdraw from other groups, an attitude quite impossible for traveling camel-drivers.

Apart from their houses, the Fakirani show other typical culture-traits. It has been mentioned that wooden boats figure largely in the dance held at the grave and in honour of the ancestor Sanwelo. But boats are of practical importance in daily life too. Before and during monsoon, the possibilities of grazing the camels become worse and worse; this is the time to migrate to the coast, where no other nomads can venture for lack of fresh water. But even camels need *some* water to drink, and this is fetched in boats, sometimes from a distance of thirty miles. The whole inside of the boat is then used as a receptacle for the water, which is protected against evaporation and filth by wooden planks, laid from board to board. Without these boats life would be impossible on the coast, but the Fakirani do not manufacture them themselves, but rather buy them from fisher-groups or specialists. They are thus, like the Ma'dan of South Iraq, dependent on purchase for vital equipment, but unlike the Ma'dan, they do not use the boats for transportation of fodder or fishing. And yet this employment and purchasing of boats shows that there is at least one link with the despised fisher-group. Thus the question arises, whether the offering of boats in the ceremonies at Sanwelo's grave is due to some influence of the fishermen. But this question needs some more investigation before it can be answered.

The Fakirani observe a distinct division of work between the sexes. All work connected with camel-breeding is restricted to the men, i.e., the grazing of the herds, the milking, the shearing and spinning of the camel's wool, the weaving of it into coarse but long-lasting sacks and blankets, the fetching of water in boats if necessary, the organization of migrations, and, now exclusively, the buying and selling at

[6] T. *Postans:* Personal Observations on Sindh, the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants. London 1843. p. 39 ff.

market-places. But this is all, and if a man has elder sons to do the real work, he enjoys much leisure. The women of the camel-nomads, in contrast to more sedentary groups, have a comparatively easy life too. The carrying of water, always hard and wearisome, does not take their time for months on end; likewise cooking is abandoned, when they live on camel milk only. As cooking includes the provision of fuel, pounding and grinding rice and other grain, this is a real respite. As nothing can be done with the milk, they are at all times free from the preparation of milk-products, which keep the women of other nomads busy. All implements, household-utensils and textiles are bought, so that the women are burdened less with duties than is usual in non-industrialized communities. But they still have to look after the children when they are small, they fabricate the reed-mats which are needed for the erection of the houses, and they keep the house clean — and exemplarily so — as well as the clothes. The greater part of the year they perform the normal duties of carrying water, fuel, and doing the cooking. It does the women great credit that they do not waste their time. Like most of the women in Sindh, they are very clever with the needle; fine embroideries on clothes, the painstaking sewing of blankets and quilts take up their hours of leisure. There are characteristic differences in the patterns used, but to discuss them is outside the scope of this little book.

All in all it can be said that the camel-nomads are content with their way of life; they are not content with the increasing difficulty in grazing their herds, due to the extending area of irrigation. But this problem of culture change has been dealt with elsewhere[7].

The second major type of nomadism is based on buffalo-breeding. Later we must deal with the question of when the camel was introduced into Sindh, a question of great historical importance, but at present it is sufficient to say that the buffalo is native in Sindh (rather, in the whole Indian subcontinent), which the camel is not. Engraved seals from Mohenjo Daro prove that the buffalo has been known in Sindh for at least 3,000 years. When it was domesticated is another question, but it existed in this region before the camel came, so there is a high probability that buffalo-breeding is much older in Sindh than camel-breeding. There are striking differences in the use that is made of the buffalo throughout Pakistan. Whereas it is quite usual in the Panjab to use the female buffaloes for milk and the males as draught animals, the people in the Delta of the Indus use the buffalo only for milk and never as a draught animal. Jat in Lower Sindh doing farm-work (their number has been increasing for the last

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[7] S. *Westphal-Hellbusch:* Some Nomadic Groups in West Pakistan and their Adaptation to Modern Times. Sociologus NF. Vol. 12. 1962.

fifty years) use bullocks for the plough, bullocks or horses for carriages, asses and sometimes camels for transport. Their aversion to using milk-animals for work seems typical for herdsmen who depend on milk and milk-products for subsistence. As this culture-trait is found throughout the Delta-region, one can be sure that the oldest group to have bred buffaloes in this area was a pastoral people.

When it was said of the camel-nomads that they are beginning to suffer from the scarcity of pasture-ground, this is even more true of the buffalo-nomads. Much more so than the camels, buffaloes need fresh water, not only for drinking purposes, but in order to stand and lie in. That means that they cannot withdraw very far from the banks of rivers and canals, but that is exactly where the strips of land are, where cultivation is possible and practised. For many buffalo-breeders the consequence was either to move to some place where the irrigation had not yet spread, or to settle down, meaning that they could keep only very few animals of their formerly large herds. But even if he keeps only one buffalo, the peasant of the Delta will never use it for work, adhering to the old tradition that buffaloes are for milking only.

The buffalo-nomads are well-to-do just like the camel-nomads. They sell the young animals, either for slaughter or to be trained as draught animals, especially for the Persian wheel. They are not so lucky as to get 700-800 Rps. for one animal, rather only 200-300 Rps., but they can sell Ghi in compensation for this loss, thereby having a regular source of income without diminishing the substance of the herd. The division of labour is similar to that described for the camel-nomads. The men graze the animals and milking is their privilege. The preparation of milk-products is the task of the women, but the men carry the Ghi to the market-places or sell it to town-people and buy all the goods required. As neither men nor women practice any handicrafts, they are dependent on specialists and markets to provide them with household-utensils, textiles and all the food they do not produce themselves, e.g., rice, wheat, barley, etc. The women are burdened with the usual duties of keeping house and rearing children all the year round, but devote as much time as possible to needle-work.

A peculiarity of the buffalo-nomads is their aversion to selling milk. Generally speaking it is customary for village life not to sell anything to neighbors, but to give it to them on a long standing basis of reciprocity; the non-selling of milk may be understood under this aspect. They do, however, sell Ghi. They do not expressly refuse to sell milk to neighbours, but, on the contrary, to strangers. The camel-nomads were in contrast to this quite willing to sell milk, if anybody inter-

ested in it should appear. This attitude, to consider the selling of milk as shameful and at the same time to let the men sell Ghi at the market-places, is one of the most striking parallels to the customs of the Ma'dan and must be dealt with separately.

Many times we were told that there are more pure buffalo-nomads today in Cutchh than in Sindh, and that nomadism plays a more important role in Cutchh in general. The example of the Nawalakhani, mentioned above, supports this statement. As it is our hypothesis that buffalo-nomadism is one of the oldest institutions in the Delta-region, it is consistent to assume that in the more secluded and out-of-the-way region of Cutchh, some customs concerning the buffaloes survived which have since disappeared in Sindh. Postans, a reliable observer of details, declares that the buffalo was of ceremonial importance in Cutchh. Every year at a fixed time the Rao of Cutchh sacrificed a male buffalo in the honour of Parvate, a protective deity of the country. If this buffalo was beheaded with one blow, the deity accepted his blood as sacrifice, while to the onlooking crowd the dying of the buffalo served as an oracle. The direction of the falling body, the position of its head with respect to the body and to the four points of the compass, etc., were eagerly observed and interpreted. Lamentations were recited over the dead body until it was removed by pariahs, who were at liberty to eat the meat or not, as they chose. It has been reported that the buffalo-nomads in Cutchh disdain the breeding of cows. But as the cow is a holy animal for the Hindus, the refusal to have anything to do with cows in a Hinduistic country means a rejection of Hinduism. In addition to this, Postans informs us that the population of Cutchh is a mixture of aboriginal goat-herdsmen and Islamic "nomads" from Sindh. This permits the conclusion that the buffalo-breeders were connected with Sindh, as they are today, and that they belonged to the first groups to become Islamized. The same is true for the camel-nomads. Both nomadic groups seem to have embraced Islam to escape from the caste-system of the Hindus, which suppressed them and conceded to them only the lowest social standing.

It has already been said that in Cutchh beliefs and conceptions concerning the buffalo have possibly survived that *may* have been in former times likewise fimiliar in Sindh. There are customs found in Sindh which indicate that the buffalo is and was something of special importance, e.g., the death of a male buffalo is regarded as a good omen for the rest of the herd, which now will certainly prosper. This belief gives the death an aspect of sacrifice, which was clearly pronounced in the ceremony described above. With sympathy and patience

more of such beliefs could probably be extracted from the Jat, who are at present a little shy about confessing to old traditions because of their new awareness of the Islamic religion.

In their material possessions the buffalo-nomads show no differences from the other Oraks; only their houses are different. Occasionally they imitate the house typical for camel-nomads, but much more common is a carelessly erected wooden frame of branches and twigs with a roughly circular goundplan. They connect sticks to a beehive structure and cover it with such material as is at hand: twigs, grass, reeds, or straw. The furnishing of the house is similar to that of the camel-nomads, but simpler. It is not often that they own a chest, and the bench where the sacks of grain and the bedding are stored is smaller and less heavily loaded. The ornaments of the women are made from silver rather than from gold, and are not so numerous. There are fourteen Oraks of buffalo-nomads, only a part of which is traceably interrelated, some of them living exclusively in Cutchh. The highest rank is conferred on the Iburani; they take daughters from all Oraks linked to them by kinship, but they will never give one of their own daughters to any other Orak, thus asserting their supremacy. Those Oraks which cannot trace their relationship to the Iburani nevertheless claim some connection by pretending that some members of the ancestral line have been forgotten. As discussed earlier, an old organic tribal structure seems to emerge here, and this is confirmed by the status and functions of the Wadero of the Iburani. If there are any disagreements or quarrels between Oraks belonging to this group, they appeal in the first instance to the Wadero of the Iburani; if he is unable to straighten the matter out himself, he will pass the case on to the Malik.

The buffalo-nomads are looked upon as the bravest fighters of all the Jat. This is due to long practice in fighting. As mentioned above, they have their pasture grounds along the banks of rivers and canals where the farmers have their fields, and where, moreover, the animals of the farmers — smaller numbers of buffaloes, bullocks, sheep, asses and horses — are grazing. If it is a dry year, the farmer has trouble feeding his own animals and will never agree to renting any of his precious grassland to strangers. The inevitable consequence is a serious quarrel, since the nomads are also facing a problem of survival. In contrast to the camel-nomads, the buffalo-breeders can never free themselves from these competitive contacts with peasants and have to muster all their strength in this struggle for existence. As the buffaloes are slow-moving animals, their breeders cannot escape famine with one energetic effort, as the camel-nomads would try to do, mi-

grating in one stretch from Sindh to Cutchh or vice versa. It is rare that both countries suffer from drought at the same time, although one disastrous drought is remembered in Cutchh and Sindh which caused numerous losses of men and beasts. But whereas camel-nomads always cover great distances in their migrations, the buffalo-breeders usually confine their wanderings to a narrow area. In normal years they stay in one place for some days or weeks and then move on only for a short distance. But they are always ready to leave well-known tracts for better places, if they are sure to find an improvement of conditions.

Before venturing on a historical interpretation of the assembled data, some additional influences of geographical and historical conditions on the customs of the Jat will next be mentioned.

g) Peculiarities of rice cultivation in the Delta

It would be of no interest here to describe cultivation at length, as it has no bearing on the tribal system. On the other hand, there is a significant element of cultivators intermingled with the Jat, and to them some practices of rice cultivation must be attributed which were carried to Iraq by the Jat when they migrated there. Only this point, being of some historical interest, shall be discussed.

For rice cultivation in the south of Iraq, the simplest of all methods are used. If the ground is turned up at all, then only with the spade; for harvesting only the sickle is used. No work is done in the fields from the time of planting up to the harvest. Although for the cultivation of wheat or barley the soil is tilled with oxen and plough, the Ma'dan decline to do this on rice fields and under no circumstances will they make use of their buffaloes for draught animals.

Rice cultivation in the Delta-region of the Indus is, if possible, even more simple. In those areas where cultivation depends on monsoon rains, or on inundation as a result of monsoons, no tilling of the soil takes place whatsoever. When the field has been inundated, the men sow the rice. It is a kind especially adapted to the conditions of this area, the so-called "red rice", able to grow in considerable depths of water and indifferent to an occasional intrusion of salty sea-water. We were told that sometimes rice is grown in water so deep that a man cannot wade into it, so that all the work must be done from a boat. But more work than harvesting with a sickle is not needed, as weeding is either impossible or thought unnecessary. If a scarcity of water is expected, people quicken the first phases of growth by artificial germination of the seed. The yield can never be called good, but is nevertheless remarkable for such careless farming.

As rice was imported into Iraq approximately 1,000 years before the Jat arrived there, the introduction of rice cannot be attributed to them. It seems probable, however, that the very simple type of rice cultivation in Iraq, without the help of animals, is connected with the practices in Sindh which we have just described.

h) Fishermen in the Delta

According to all traditions and opinions, the fishermen in the Delta belong to the oldest inhabitants of Sindh. Naturally they have had some influence on the Jat, although the latter deny it emphatically. The fishermen, together with the hunters (Shikari), have the lowest social standing and marriage with them entails social degradation for a member of a higher caste. But the girls of the fisher-groups are renowned for their beauty and many cases of mutual seduction are recorded. The offspring of such illicit unions are to be pitied, since neither of the castes will accept them on equal terms and thus they are often forced to live as outsiders.

In general the fishermen have a darker complexion, but are as tall and slender as the Jat. They are described by Postans as "... the most active and athletic race in Sindh, with a bouyancy of spirit and generally frank bearing unknown to the other classes" (Op. cit., p. 58), and they have not changed in character in the last 100 years. Their women folk do not care much for Purdah and are seen everywhere without veils. They are not too shy to sit on the banks of the river and canals to bathe or to wash their things and chatter.

But the fishermen are not one homogeneous caste; they are divided into two distinct groups, the Mohana and the Mir-Bahar, the latter being more respected. As their name, "Lords of the Sea," indicates, they had and have sea-going boats with which they were able to navigate along the shores of the Persian Gulf. These boats, of the type customary for all countries on the Persian Gulf, are manufactured by specialists. They now live in a colony of their own near Karachi. It is very probable that the Mir-Bahar are descendants of those pirates for whom the coast of Sindh was once notorious; to this day they are famous for their daring and nautical skill. Transport of goods and passengers to the small ports of Sindh and Makran is carried on by the Mir-Bahar, but as motor-craft are now preferred by their passengers and are too costly for most of them to buy, some of the Mir-Bahar were obliged to look around for some other means of livelihood. Out of sheer necessity they took to farming and breeding.

Like the camel- and buffalo-nomads they have a characteristic type of house. The ground-plan is rectangular; the walls are made of wooden planks and a gable-roof is added. M. I. Siddiqi[8] comes to the conclusion that these houses were formerly erected from whale-bones, whale-fishing being one of the main occupations of the fisher-groups on the coast. But the whale has retreated from the Pakistani coast and can no longer be caught, so they must now use wood instead of bone. It does not matter if the use of wood is relatively new or if it dates back a long time; the main point here is that they at all times had a typical house and can be identified by it.

The second group, the Mohana, having neither the boats nor the daring to sail them on the open sea, keep to the rivers and canals. They have the flat-bottomed boats to be found on all waterways in Sindh. Some of the Mohana even use them as house-boats. The poorer groups of the Mohana do not possess any boats. They wander along the rivers and canals, working under contract for some employer, who then sells their catch, as nobody wants to deal directly with the despised fishermen. These Mohana live in small huts made from twigs, branches or sticks and covered with any material available, such as cloth, grass, reed, etc.

There has been some interbreeding between Jat and fishermen, but in all probability contact with the Mir-Bahar has been more frequent than with the Mohana. The Dabai-Jat, living in the western part of the Indus-Delta, recorded that the reason why they settled down was not for land-cultivation, but in order to take up fishing. Many groups of them now practice the profession of the Mir-Bahar, i.e., they fish on the open sea and do transport-business with their boats. A few of them also own motor-boats. But even those groups are very slow in abandoning camel-breeding, although their herds are more often than not grazed by some hired men. As some of the Jat even do some fishing in the rivers and canals, and are looked down upon for this, the influence of the Mohana cannot absolutely be denied. But these questions need some more investigation.

i) The Jat-tribe of the Delta: Conclusions

As was said in the first chapter, it was our aim to look for the forefathers of the Jat who emigrated to Iraq, and to study their descendants in Pakistan itself. We succeeded in finding these forefathers in the buffalo-nomads of the Delta, and in a later chapter the

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[8] Mohammed Ismail *Siddiqi:* The Fishermen's Settlements on the Coast of West Pakistan. Schriften des Geographischen Instituts der Universität Kiel, 1956. Im Selbstverlag.

parallels between their way of life and that of the Ma'dan shall be described in detail. But before we could be sure that the Delta-nomads were the groups in question, we had to compare them with other Jat-communities in Sindh and the Panjab. In the next chapters we shall deal with those groups, but before starting this discussion we shall give a summary of the main points to be noted about the Jat-tribe.

The most important point is that the tribe of the Jat, who claim to be Jat by caste or descent, exists up to the present. They can clearly be separated from other groups in the Delta-region as belonging to the tribal community of which Malik Ghulam Husein Khan is the head. The interrelations between Malik and followers, characterized as an hierarchical system, has been already described and need not be repeated.

As we have shown, different groups of people contributed to this tribal community in one way or another. The recorded facts shall now be brought into a rough historical sequence. The oldest inhabitants known in this area are the fishermen. They have survived as a separate group, whose influence on the Jat has induced some of their Oraks to practice fishing in rivers and others to fish in the sea. Oraks who have taken up one of these professions are of a low social standing in the rank-system of the Jat. Since time immemorial simple methods of rice cultivation have been known in the Delta. Everybody, even the nomad, is familiar with it and can make use of it. While only some of the fishermen merged indiscernibly into the Jats, numerous other Oraks are primarily cultivators and breeders only in proportion to the possibilities of their land.

The characteristic groups of the Jat-tribe are nomads, either buffalo- or camel-nomads. In the case of the camel-nomads we have one documented fact with which their history begins. About 700 B.C. the camel appeared for the first time in the arid districts east of the Indus. A very short time after Sindh became famous for its breeds of camels. The question is, whether those camel-breeders were old nomadic people, who took to a new animal, or if the camel-breeders of today are offspring of immigrants who introduced the camel and with it a new way of life. More than once it was pointed out to us that among the camel-breeders of the Delta there is a remarkably high percentage of fair people, and our own observations have confirmed this. But nothing is known about the past of this sub-group; other camel-breeders cannot be distinguished from the common somatic type of the Delta. Nevertheless the distinctness of the camel-breeders in regard to their housing, clothing, appearance, and customs are grounds for the widely held opinion that they are immigrants and the "true" Jat.

This question cannot be answered without consideration of the Jat in the other provinces of Pakistan, but it must be noted that the camel-nomads are not the only nomads in this area.

As distinctive a group as the camel-nomads are the buffalo-nomads. As the buffalo is native in this country, it was domesticated a long time before the camel had been introduced. But it is an open question, whether nomadism was known before this time or came into existence with the breeding of camels and was then imitated by owners of cattle. This is not our opinion, as shall be shown later on, but at the time of the Arab conquest in 711 A. D. authentic sources assert that the Jat consisted of numerous tribes, living on the coast, along the rivers, in inaccessible jungles and in villages. This suggests that they then adapted to their environment with the same range of variation as today and furthermore that they were not one unified nation, but lived on the level of separate tribal communities, which were always ready to fight one another for their vital interests.

When at last the Baluch infiltrated into the Delta, they were looking for land and for followers in order to get a hold on the country. As a result, the tribes of the Jat in the Delta were amalgamated under Baluch leadership. In contrast to others, it survived up to the present time and it is only of minor importance whether the ruling family of the Maliks is of real Baluch extraction or not. The formation of the Jat-tribe as a stable social organization took place at the time of the Baluch arrival, and comprises groups of very different ways of life and of different pasts. To clear up some of the problems connected with these conclusions, the scope of this discussion must be extended to include all the Jat of the country.

Different meanings of the word Jat

The first question when discussing the people of the Jat arises in regard to the Jāt of the Panjab. Do the Jat and the Jāt belong historically, ethnically and culturally to one and the same group or not? The Jat as well as the Jāt are indifferent about it; it may be possible that they belong together, but who knows? Most men of the educated class were firm in their view that Jat and Jāt were dialectically different pronunciations of one name for one people, but a minority was thoroughly convinced that Jat and Jāt are different. They insisted that the differences in their way of life could not be neglected, the Jāt having been cultivators par excellence for many centuries, as can be proven by historical records, whereas the Jat are a poor, nomadic people. The fact that the Jāt acquired political importance in the region of

Delhi may have been an additional argument for not confusing the Jāt with the inferior Jat. But the problem whether or not the Jat and Jāt belong together is not linguistic, nor is it to be solved by merely counting the differences in their way of life. It is much more complex than this, as will soon be understood when all the different meanings of the word Jat are enumerated.

One group of facts accentuates the religious belief as the essential characteristic. Al Biruni[9], an Arabic geographer of the 11th century, states that the Jat worshiped the Lingam, the fertility symbol of one of the Hinduistic religious communities. Likewise the Jat are called Hindki[10], with a touch of belittlement, by the Pathan. In striking contrast to this, the Imperial Gazetteer[11] states that Jat is a collective name for all Moslems in the Hinduistic society of the Panjab. The same was maintained by some informants in Sindh, who told us that before the Partition Jat was synonymous with Moslem in Sindh, but was abandoned in this meaning after the Partition, when Islam became the official religion. It would be misleading to deduce from these statements a definite religious belief, as all facts taken together show, on the contrary, that the Jat are geographically and culturally in an intermediate position between the Islamic countries west of the Indus and the equally pure Hinduistic countries east of the Indus. In this context the Sikhs must be counted as a Hinduistic community. This intermediate position gives the key to many conflicting statements about the Jat.

A second group of facts is concerned with ethnic differences, although sometimes in a vague form. Thus it is written in the Gaz. of Punjab[12] that the Baluch and Pathan contemptuously called all people not belonging to their own tribes Jat, without any regard to caste or occupation. It is on the same level when the Baluchistan Gaz.[13] informs us: "... that a distinction exists among the Jats themselves. The camelmen and graziers among the Baloch are shown as a Jat clan within the tribe of the same name, but their name is pronounced with a soft 't' as opposed to the hard 't.' These camelmen speak a different language to other Jats, and many of their customs vary, but it has not been ascertained whether there is any real ethnical distinction ... The

[9] The Life and Times of Mahmud of Ghazna, by Muhammad Nazim. Cambridge University Press. 1931. p. 121. n. 3.

[10] H. *Risley:* The People of India. Thacker, Spink & Co. London. 1915. p. 309.

[11] Imperial Gazetteer of India. 1909. Vol. XVII. Montgomery District. p. 412.

[12] Gazetteer of Punjab, Provincial Volume. Calcutta. 1888—89. p. 17.

[13] Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series. Vol. III. Sibi District. Bombay. 1907. p. 71.

tribesmen look upon the Jats as their social inferiors and this position is generally accepted by the Jat themselves."

In Lower Sindh some Baluch told us that low-class clans of their own tribe work as camel-drivers and therefore are called Jat. Whereas the Fakirani, camel-breeders of the Delta-tribe, assured us that all Jat are Baluch, particularly Karmati-Baluch. In a more general version, the Sindhi express their opinion in this way: Jats are Sindhi and camel-breeders, Jāts Panjabi and cultivators. To summarize this group of facts it must be kept in mind that the Jat in Sindh are to be seen in relation to the Baluch. Most of the Baluch do not acknowledge them as their own tribesmen, and in the extreme they will give the word Jat the meaning of "stranger" and then use it to designate a man even otherwise known to be, let us say, Arain. On the other hand the Jat tend to assimilate with the socially superior Baluch and maintain that they are Baluch by descent but called Jat when rearing camels, implying that Jat is a designation of occupation only. A widely agreed-upon compromise in this dilemma is the name Jat-Baluch for all camel-breeding groups. To avoid misunderstandings it should be stressed that this statement is valid for Sindh only.

In the last group of facts, referring mainly to descent, we have a further method for classification of the Jat, i.e., one depending on occupation and way of life. In this respect the statements vary strikingly with the locality. For Montgomery it is said[14]: "The pastoral clans inhabiting the District bear collectively the name of the 'Great Ravi' tribes, in contradistinction to the purely agricultural classes, who are contemptuously nicknamed the 'Little Ravi'... The Great Ravi Jats possess a fine physique, and have handsome features; they lay claim to a Rajput origin, and look down upon all who handle the plough. In former days they exercised practical sovereignty over the agricultural tribes of the lowlands." A stronger contrast to the statements of Ibbetson[15] is hardly imaginable: "The Jat of the Sikh tracts is of course the typical Jat of the Panjáb, and it is he whom I have described above. The Ját of the south-eastern districts differ little from him save in religion; though on the Bikaner border the puny Bágri Ját, immigrant from his rainless prairies where he has been held in bondage for centuries, and ignorant of cultivation save in its rudest form, contrasts strongly with the stalwart and indepedent husbandman of the Málwa. On the Lower Indus the word Jat is applied

[14] Imperial Gazetteer of India. 1909. Vol. XVII. Montgomery District. p. 412.

[15] Denziel *Ibbetson:* Panjab Castes. Reprint of the chapter on: The Races, Castes and Tribes of the People, in the Report on the Census of the Panjab published in 1883. Lahore. 1916. p. 103.

generically to a congeries of tribes, Jats proper, Rajputs, lower castes, and mongrels, who have no points in common save their Mohammedan religion, their agricultural occupation, and their subordinate position. In the great western grazing grounds it is, as I have said, impossible to draw any sure line between Jat and Rajput the latter term being commonly applied to those tribes who have attained political supremacy, while the people whom they have subdued or driven by dispossession off their territory to live a semi-nomad life in the central steppes are more often classed as Jats; and the state of the things on the Salt-range Tract is very similar. Indeed the word Jat is the Panjábi term for a grazier or herdsman; though Mr. O'Brien says that in Jatki, Jat the cultivator is spelt with a hard, and Jat the herdsman or camel grazier with a soft t. Thus the word Jat in Rohtak or Amritsar means a great deal; in Muzaffargarh or Bannu it means nothing at all, or rather perhaps it means a great deal more than any single word can afford to mean if it is to be of any practical use; and the two classes respectively indicated by the term in these two parts of the Province must not be too readily founded."

This uncertainty whether the herdsmen or the cultivators are of higher social rank depends on the fact that it is not generally clear, whether the Jat are a caste with an ethnic origin of their own, or whether they are only a caste by occupation. The information concerning this question is as contradictory as possible, but can be separated into two categories. For reasons which will become clear later on, we shall now deal with Sindh only. For this region it may be stated: 1) It is known that the word Jat may mean a caste by descent. In this respect the occupation of the people is of no relevance. 2) It is known that the word Jat may also mean a caste defined by occupation. In this respect the descent of the people is of no relevance. Brahui, Baluch, Rajput and Jat who breed camels and hire themselves out as camel-drivers are called Jat. But more important than camel-breeding in this connection is the occupation as camel-driver. All the camel-nomads of the south refuse to hire themselves or their animals out. There is no doubt that the camel-drivers, or Jat by profession, are a socially inferior, if not despised, people. This estimation finds expression in some common but unproven recriminations. In the Baluchistan Gaz.[16] one can read: "The code of morality among the Jat camel-breeders and artisans is loose, and it is a common saying that a headman who gives his camels to a Jat to graze thereby also acquires a claim upon the affections of the Jat's wife." In the same line is a stock phrase that it is an insult to call a Sindhi a Jat. Here some

[16] Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series. Vol. III. Sibi District. Bombay. 1907. p. 46.

playing with words slips in, as Jatt (with two t's) means pigheadedness, dullness, obstinacy, and quarrelsomeness. The Jat enjoy this quibble and make use of it themselves.

The Jat as camel-drivers are found up to the present in all parts of Sindh and the Panjab. But camel-breeding has vanished in the Panjab with the exception of some isolated groups in the West-Panjab, and in Sindh it is restricted to those areas not won for cultivation by irrigation. Hence camel-breeding is found today in the Delta-region, the Thar, the Thal, and the semi-deserts stretching west of the Indus to Makran and Baluchistan. The Jats on the west side of the Indus and those of the Delta know virtually nothing about one another. We shall now turn to a discussion of the Jats of Middle and Upper Sindh.

Jat of the North

All Jat in Middle and Upper Sindh maintain that they came from the north, together with the Baluch. As they concede to the Mir-Jat a dominant role, it seemed advisable to concentrate our investigations upon this tribe.

Mir-Jat, it was said, have existed since the time of Mir Chakar. They were the Jat, i.e., the camel-drivers of the Mirs, and hence the name. The Baluch confirm this tradition adding so many details that one is inclined to believe there is some historical foundation for the tales. The Mir-Jat themselves knew only a part of their own history, not much more than can be transmitted by direct experience, i.e., a period of 3—5 generations in the extreme, or 150—200 years. The Baluch, however, trace their history proudly back to the beginning and, as they regard the Jat as inseparable from themselves, their fate is recorded in the old stories of the Baluch. We noted down a version obtained near Jacobabad, which is approximately the centre of geographical distribution of the Mir-Jat.

The outstanding personality of the Baluch past is Mir-Chakar, once the head of the Rind-tribe, who are up to the present the most notable subgroup of the Baluch community in Pakistan. Mir-Chakar is the hero of their folk songs[17]. It is historically established that he lived about 1450—1550 A.D. and died when 96 years old, after subduing Sibi and the surrounding country. With him begins an accurate account of historical events; previous to his time only the outlines of Baluch history are known. According to their own traditions, the Baluch came from Syria. They started their migration eastwards from Haleb (Alep-

[17] Longworth *Dames:* Popular Poetry of the Baluch. Glasgow, 1907.

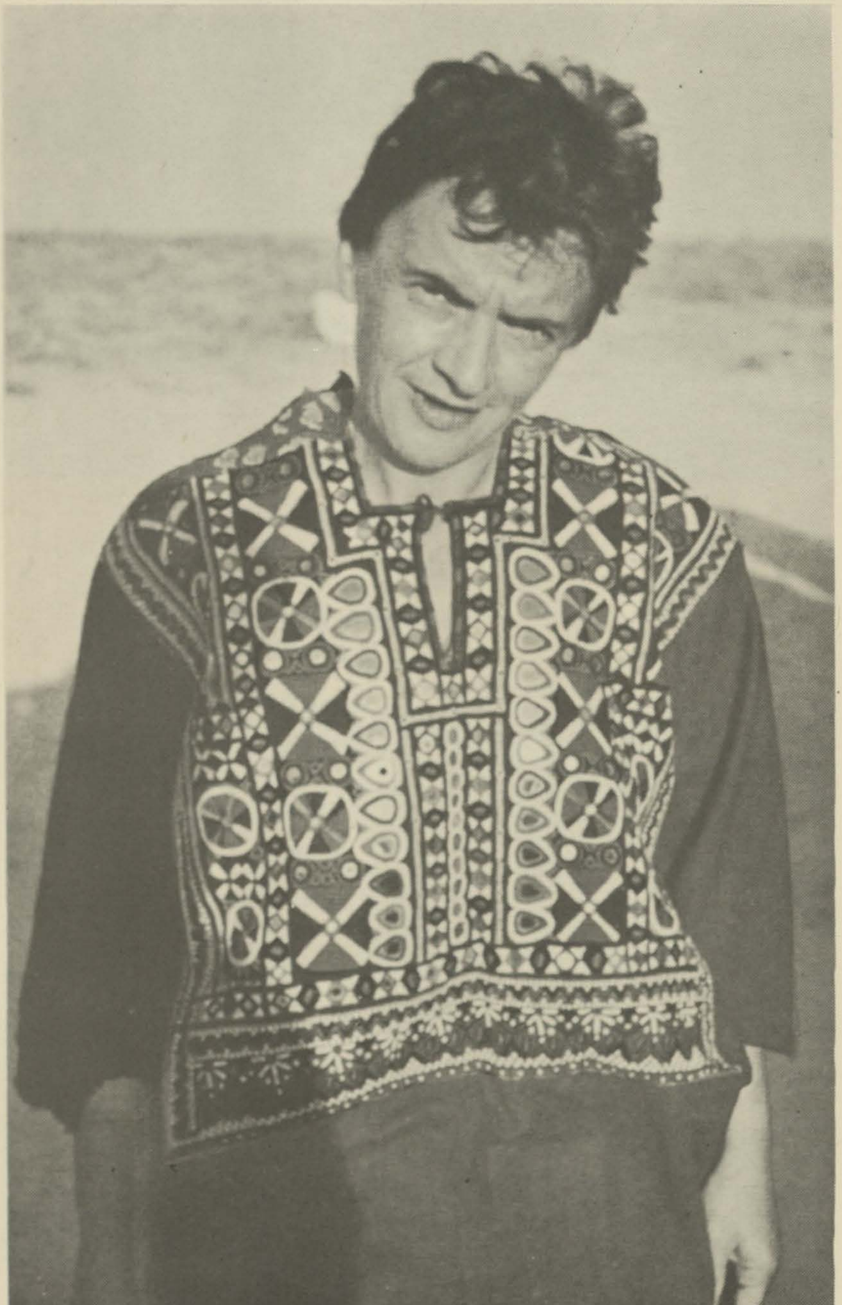
po) some 1,000 years ago. They came via Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan to Sindh and started their conquest of this country in earnest under Mir-Chakar. All the time, from Haleb onwards, they were accompanied by the Jat, who were their camel-drivers, soldiers and servants. There is a story which says that nine Para or tribes of the Jat lived with Mir-Chakar: 1) Mir-Jat, 2) Langwani, 3) Babar, 4) Lishari, 5) Borana, 6) Wasuwana, 7) Pahore, 8) Daidana, 9) Babrani. According to Baluch tradition, the Pahore were merged totally into the Baluch, whereas we were told that the Pahore still exist as an independent tribe. The other eight tribes are even today still the main tribes of the northern Jat, from which all the numerous subgroups and local groups of the Jat must be descendants, whether they know it or not. Of all the Jat tribes living with Mir-Chakar, the Mir-Jat were the most respected, because, being his personal camel-drivers and soldiers, they were closest to Mir-Chakar personally.

The Jat, and with them all non-Baluch tribes and persons allied with the Baluch, were called collectively Rawichi. The Rawichi took part in the wars of Mir-Chakar, but had their own commander, whose name is recorded as Khavil. The Baluch assert that when Khavil died, his son did not succeed him as commander. The Jat say, on the contrary, that Khavil was a Jat and that all the heads of the different tribes up to the present are offspring of their first leader. How it happened that the tribes of the Jat separated and were dispersed is told by Jat and Baluch in the same way:

At the time of Mir-Chakar a fratricidal strife broke out between the Rind and the Lashari. The reason was (in this connection significantly enough) a beautiful Jat girl by the name of Mai-Gohar. Under the protection of Mir-Chakar she was grazing her camels when some Lashari ran away with her female camels. This was reason enough for Mir-Chakar to fight, and the ensuing war between the Rind and the Lashari lasted for forty years. It resulted in the final defeat of Mir-Chakar at the hands of the Afghans, who had been brought into play by Mir-Chakar himself. This led to the establishment of Afghan rule over Sindh, an event which had far-reaching consequences for the tribes of the Jat who had taken part, actively or passively, in the war as subjects of the Baluch. At that time began the process of separation, distribution and assimilation of the Jat into other tribes.

Today the Mir-Jat live in the districts Kalat, Shoran, Jacobabad, Sukkur, Lar, Larkana, and Hyderabad. Their number was estimated to be 24,000, including women and children. Their geographical, cultural and political centre is Shoran, the same place where Khavil, the commander of the Rawichi, lived at the time of Mir-Chakar. Unfor-

Delta-Jat



Feminine attire



House construction



Settlement

Jat of the North



House construction



Settlement

Jat of the North



Feminine attire

tunately we could not go to the place ourselves, and hence all our information concerning the place and the head of the Mir-Jat who resides there has not been verified. But what was said makes sense, so that it shall be presented here, inviting any corrections which turn out to be necessary.

In Shoran resides the Chago Murs, as the headman of the Mir-Jat is called. He is acknowledged by all the minor headmen of the Mir-Jat, but even headmen of other Jat-groups submit to his authority of their own free will. His position is hereditary and his official powers are considerable, internally as well as externally. All differences and quarrels which cannot be settled by the minor headmen, especially cases that affect more than one group, are brought before the Chago Murs as the supreme arbitrator. He is entitled to inflict corporal punishments and fines, to dissolve marriages even against the consent of the man, and to hand down decisions in cases of inheritance. The whole tribe supports him with voluntary presents, but he has the right to impose taxes in times of need, as for instance feuds or famines. In this case he informs the minor headmen of the emergency and fixes for each of them the contribution to be collected from his group. The authority of the Chago Murs comes to an end where government draws the line for all tribal officials. Cases of murder and manslaughter must be passed on to the law-courts of the government by the Chago Murs himself. Since murder as a result of feuds is much more frequent in the north than in the south of Sindh, the Chago Mürs is repeatedly obliged to be a member of the court. Usually, however, the feud is not really settled by government jurisdiction and tribal negotiations must follow. To achieve satisfactory solutions and to restrain feuds to an extent tolerable to all concerned is one of the main functions of the Chago Murs. In this he is guided by some intertribally fixed rules for compensation. If a Baluch kills a Jat, the bloodmoney is 1,000 Rps. and girls by arrangement; if a Jat kills a Baluch, the bloodmoney is 2,000 and girls by arrangement; if a Mir-Jat kills a Jat of another tribe, the sum is 1,000 Rps., but if a Jat of another tribe kills a Mir-Jat, he must pay 1,500 Rps. This provides a good index of the relative valuation of the tribes.

In case of a feud the heads of the Baluch and the Jat, among them the Chago Murs, must assemble. In this assembly the Baluch have no authority to give orders to the Jat, as they have no control over intertribal affairs of the Jat in general. They are their masters whenever difficulties in the use of land arise, and naturally so, as the Baluch are the landlords in this area. But a Baluch as a Baluch is not the superior of a Jat as a Jat. The Jat, always having had a tribal organization of their own, remained to a certain extent independent

from the Baluch and this independence marks their relationship even today. And yet, a strong feeling of solidarity reciprocally links the Baluch with the Jat. Now, as ever, the Baluch consider the Mir-Jat as *their* Jat. That does not mean that the Mir-Jat are socially their equals and are treated as such; rather the contrary is true.

Most of the Baluch villages in this region have a group of Mir-Jat living with them. Although they are part of the village population, they live in separate quarters, usually at some distance from the houses of the Baluch. The relationship between Baluch and Mir-Jat living in a joint village community resembles much more that of masters and servants than is true for the relationship between the wider groups. The Baluch are used to giving orders, which are obeyed carefully and submissively by the Jat. But for this one exception the Jat have no submissive attitude in general. To us they behaved confidently and without restraint. Because of this contradictory behaviour people have come to make conflicting statements about them. On one hand they were declared to be a warlike and brave people, on the other hand, that they cannot cope with the Baluch. It was also said that all Jat are robbers and thieves, but later this was narrowed down to cattle-lifting only, which is a highly popular sport of the Baluch themselves. On both sides prevails the feeling that they belong to each other and that their association is of advantage to both. But distinct social roles have been historically established, so that everybody holds to the pattern on the basis of mutual trust.

In many ways the Jat of the north differ from the Delta-Jat. To begin with, the differences in their somatic characteristics: the Jat of the north are smaller and have on the average a darker complexion than the Jat of the Delta. We saw some very tall and fair people too, as everywhere in Pakistan, but in this context we shall not discuss the extremes. Differences in custom and attire are numerous, only some of which shall be mentioned here. These could be observed while we were visiting some groups of Mir-Jat, Babar and Borana. Most strikingly in contrast were the garments of the women, and as women throughout the world are more conservative than men (without going into the reasons why), the difference in their attire hints at a long and separate tradition. In short, the women of the south start with the forepart of their gown, which is then without back, sleeves or skirt. The forepart is skilfully embroidered, threads of many colours and small pieces of mirrors being used. To this principal piece are later added back, sleeves and skirt, so that one shirt-like gown results, extending down to the heels. The women in the north start with the whole shirt-like gown, to which only the sleeves must be added. As trousers are worn, the shirt is only of knee-length.

They prefer thread of one colour, black and red being the favourites. The use of pieces of mirrors is very rare, but they maintain that these belong to every gown of festive attire. The embroidery is plain, consisting of a broad stripe along the slit in the forepart, and narrower ones running round the cuffs and sometimes going up the sleeves. A very characteristic part of the gown is an exceedingly large pocket sewn on from the hem of the skirt up to the waist and having a triangular opening. They wear only modest ornaments, more often of silver than of gold.

The women of the Delta-Jat are responsible for the preparation of the reed-mats needed for the erection of the houses, but work only for their family. With the women of the northern Jat the fabrication of mats and ropes, made from the leaves of a dwarf-palm, is a profession providing a regular income. It is such a typical occupation of the Jat women that all women who sell mats and ropes are called Jat. It should be mentioned that mats are made professionally in the south by the women of the Bhil, but there the mats are usually fabricated from reeds and grass, which is used only occasionally in the north. While in the south camel's wool is manufactured by men, in the north it is done by women.

Many more minor details could be compared, but a difference of some relevance is given with the type and form of the houses. They show no resemblance whatever to one another. Although the roof and the walls of the northern houses are likewise made of mats, these are used here in such a haphazard way that the whole fabric cannot be compared with the orderly construction in the south. Furthermore it is customary with the northern type of houses that one side remain open, for which no reason could be given. If two such houses are put together, so that the open fronts make the angle of a new square, this square is roofed over with twigs, grass and mats to offer some shade to the families during the summer (see illustrations). The whole structure resembles less a tent than a house in its first stages of construction or last stages of decay. Further investigations are necessary in order to connect it with a definite group or area.

The northern Jat can also live on camel's milk alone, but gathered wild plants and purchased rice and wheat are of greater importance in their diet than in the south.

In winter the regions around Sibi and Jacobabad are in great demand with the camel-breeders, as the irrigated areas are not too large, while some wells in the semi-desert provide drinking water for men and animals. We were told that all migratory movements are planned and then organized by the men of the group after a

discussion of information acquired in the market place. That means that their migrations do not follow a regular pattern, but depend on the natural conditions in each year. They claim that every single group makes its own decision, but that they keep one another informed of where they intend to go, so that clashes may be avoided and everyone knows where to look for help in case of need.

Although the living places of the different groups are constantly changing, they keep their migrations within customary boundaries. The borderline in the east is usually the Indus, or better the cultivated area irrigated by its water; in the west the migrations end at the mountains or at the boundary of the country. But whereas the migrations of the families are bound by tradition to certain specified territories, even if these areas are not owned by the tribe, the men disregard all boundaries when hiring themselves out as camel-drivers. And as they are ready to accept new contracts while away, the period for which they are absent from their group can be considerable. As the commission of the caravan usually aims for some market-place, they have the opportunity to trade for their own account, and many of the Jat make use of it. They are fond of buying and selling camels and often come back with different camels than those they started with. If they have a surplus of male animals in their own herd, they can bring them to the fair in Sibi in February or in Jacobabad in December, but as they are interested in the male foals as future pack animals themselves, their surplus is less then in the south. Their main source of income is not camel-breeding but camel-driving.

Our statistical material about the size of different groups, and the proportion of cultivation and camel-breeding within them is ample, but is in this connection of no relevance and shall be dealt with in a later work. The general picture is, as was to be expected, that the Jat near the Indus have fully adapted themselves to a life as cultivators; camel-breeding increases in proportion to the distance away from the Indus. All possible ways of life from purely nomadic to purely agricultural can be encountered. For the problem under discussion it is more important to know where, according to their own tradition, the borderline runs between the northern group and the southern group of Jat.

As far south as Saidabad we were told without hesitation that all Jat came from the north under one common leader. In the region of Saidabad they then started to multiply considerably, afterwards separating into many tribes and dispersing. All headmen of the subgroups, however, are offspring of the one common leader. That is evidently the tradition of the northern group. In the region of Hala

this tradition is brought into conformity with the knowledge of the existence of a southern group. A very old but remarkably intelligent and brisk Wadero of the Mir-Jat told us: Originally all Jat came from Arabia — which means from north of Hala. Once upon a time there was a great chief of the Jat, who wanted from all the tribes daughters for marriage. Some of the tribes submitted to this wish or order, others declined. Those who complied stayed with the chief, the others emigrated. Some of them came to a halt again very far south, i. e., in Gujarat. All Jat, those in the north and those in the south of Hala, are brothers, since they are all descendants of one common ancestor, Jat by name. This Jat was a brother of Rind, Lashari and Kaheri, the ancestor of the most famous Baluch tribes of today. Whether this Jat is in reality Jato, the daughter of Mir-Chakar, cannot be decided with certainty. But as women in former times were not thought of being of such insignificance as now and more than once played a deciding role in the past, especially with the Jat — as shall be shown later — there is something to be said in favor of the more widely held opinion. That neither the one nor the other version is historical truth, but rather an interpretation of some historical events, is to be assumed. It will be our task to ascertain the most probable train of events and to explain the mode of their representation.

In spite of their knowledge of a southern and a northern group, the Jat around Hala have no inclination to keep in contact with either of them. There are only small local organizations of Jat in Middle Sindh, all tribal structures having disintegrated for the benefit either of village communities or of groups larger than one village community, but only loosely interrelated by kinship. To the best of our knowledge, organizations embracing all Jat as a caste or as a nation have never existed.

In 1953 a group of Mir-Jat, having migrated as far south as Hyderabad, applied to the Malik on the occasion of the plenary assembly of the Jat-tribe in the Delta to be accepted as an Orak of his tribe, as was already mentioned on page 27. But even the Malik had no clear conception about the origin of the Mir-Jat, and their dominant role in the northern group, even the existence of this group, was new to him. So a tale was made up, that the Mir-Jat originated in some misalliance between a Jat girl and a Mir-Bahar, or vice versa, and could not be admitted for this reason of too humble an origin. There was no proof for this story. On the other hand, the Mir-Jat have a tradition that some of them migrated to Hyderabad earlier, so that there might be something in their tale.

A comparison between the Jat of Lower and Upper Sindh results in the following: There exists a tribe of Jat in the Indus-Delta which claims to be Jat by origin. Some of its subgroups are strictly camel-breeders, declining to hire themselves or their animals out. Most Jat in Middle and Upper Sindh are, or were a short time ago, camel-breeders and camel-drivers. To hire themselves and their animals out is their main source of income. This suggests that perhaps the camel has been introduced twice into Pakistan, at different times and by different peoples. But before we can discuss this problem we must first consider the Jat of the Panjab, which comprise the second important group of nomads mentioned above, i. e., the buffalo-breeders.

The buffalo-breeders in Sindh and the Panjab

As was stated already on page 12, publications in English rarely distinguish between cow and buffalo, using the common term "cattle" instead. Hence from our point of view only very few of them are valuable as sources of information. But from those, together with additional information we received, we may arrive at a general idea about the distribution of buffalo-nomads over Sindh and the Panjab in former times and of their fate after the British army had conquered their land and the new government started its large irrigation schemes.

When the Indus and the five rivers of the Panjab were not under control, the lowlands along the streams were inundated every spring and summer. During the dry season these regions were populated by nomads who kept large herds of buffaloes. When the flood came they had to go to places which were on higher ground and usually covered by jungle. Here they lived in isolated groups, free to roam about, but nevertheless bound to some waterhole or spring with drinking water for man and beast and an opportunity for the buffaloes to lie in the water, as they like to do for hours. When the floods, moving down the rivers, again subsided and the water in the jungle receded, the buffalo-herdsmen returned to the lowlands along the streams.

Thus the buffalo-breeding groups lived in a first belt along the rivers, a zone which widened or narrowed with the amount of water at hand. To avoid the inundations they were forced to move at regular intervals to the jungle. A second zone of habitation, parallel to the first but farther away from the rivers, was populated by the camel-breeders. Their animals needed much less water than the buffaloes, so their masters could have stayed in the jungle indifinitely. But at the time of inundation, when the buffalo-nomads migrated into the jungle, they moved to the dry regions and semi-deserts which suited

the camels better than the wet jungle. So the two groups performed parallel migrations and only rarely came into conflict up to the time of British government, which in developing the country disrupted the living-conditions of its inhabitants.

There has always been some contact between buffalo-nomads and the farmers settled along the rivers. Times of dearth and want found the buffalo-breeders ready and able to fight for their necessities of life, viz., water and grazing ground for their animals. But this contact seems to have been peaceful most of the time, so that gradual transitions from the way of life as pure nomads to the settled life of a farmer could be observed. Some buffalo-herdsmen did small farming for their own family, and the buffalo has been and still is the main milk-animal of the peasant.

We were lucky in meeting the headman of a former group of buffalo-breeders who liked to tell of the olden times, which he himself had experienced as a child. He valued them highly, and even if he may have been glorifying the past, his testimony is that much more important as it provides an insight into the feelings of these former buffalo-nomads. His tale shall be recorded here in outline, trying at the same time to convey the emphasis with which he spoke.

The place where the headman lives is called Hadda, in the district of Sarghoda, West Panjab. The members of the group call themselves Jat-Mahar and are the oldest Jat in this region. Hadda has existed for 200 years. Before that his ancestors lived on the banks of the river Chenab, breeding buffaloes, cows and horses. But their buffaloes they valued most, much more than the cows. As there was no irrigation in those days, the country lying a little ways away from the river was not cultivated but covered with jungle. Most of the time his ancestors lived near the river, but during and after the flood they migrated into the jungle with their animals, and Hadda was one of their preferred camping-places. The main problem while living in the jungle was to find fresh water for drinking. If wells were dug, the water was found to be not drinkable in most places because of the salty subsoil in this region, which crops up in the Salt-Ranges, 100 miles distant. Today this has been changed by scores of years of irrigation. The water-table has risen and there is too much water, even too much fresh water. But in those bygone days there was only salty water to be found in Hadda down to a depth of thirty feet. Then a holy man did them the favour of indicating to his grandfather two places to dig where there was in fact fresh water. From then on Hadda became their headquarters, where his grandfather stayed with his people while other tribes were still forced to roam constantly about in the jungle, looking for fodder and water.

At this time only brave, strong and perseverent people ventured to go into the jungle, because cattle-lifting and the fighting associated with it were the order of the day. For this the British listed them among the criminal tribes, but even today young men try to excel in it, in spite of the fact that it is forbidden by the government. In those times a good cattle-lifter was a most respected person, and no young man could hope for any reputation if he had not qualified in this respect. The strongest and bravest of all cattle-lifters far and wide was his grandfather, being virtually the king in his region. His animals were branded und nobody within a distance of forty miles would have dared to steal one of them for fear of a quick and terrible retaliation. But other tribes had good cattle-lifters too, and there was always constant fighting because of stolen buffaloes. Spears and rifles were used and often many men were killed. There were then feuds between the families and tribes lasting for twenty years or more. Feuds today spring up only because of adultery and seduction of women — (clearly the headman thought little of such feuds). Even in the times of the Sikh they lived their proud life as independent nomads and fighters, and nobody dared to come into the jungle to force a different order of things upon them. Among themselves they obeyed their own laws, always ready to fight for their rights. They were prosperous as well, being able to keep 200 buffaloes per family and having cows and horses besides.

But then the British came and times changed. A survey was made and irrigation started. The British settlement officer wanted to talk with them about their rights to the land. About a dozen times he came to Hadda, but always in vain. Only some old women he met, who pretended to know nothing and to have no idea where the men had gone with their animals. They did not trust the British; they feared being punished for cattle-lifting and did not want to receive land from those who expected taxes for it. (This dislike of taxes is a typical trait of all nomads in Pakistan and has always been a lasting hindrance in getting them settled.) In the opinion of the headman his grandfather acted perfectly right, although as a result they lost most of their lands. Colonists were invited from elsewhere to farm the newly irrigated lands, and to his grandfather's group was left only Hadda, its wells and a small area of land around them. Now his group are small farmers living surrounded by colonists — who are Jats from other parts of the country, by the way — but they are more upright, more moral, more hospitable, in short better, than the colonists.

They never did like the English, who always wanted to change their way of life and even punished them for cattle-lifting. So they

prayed intently that God might lift the English yoke from them. But the English stayed on. Now a new government rules and civilization is in constant progress. But even today they hate everything connected with it, for instance the new roads with their motor traffic, which always forces them to go out of the way.

In former times milk and buffalo meat were staple-food; they ate very little leavened bread and little or no rice. With the milk went berries, which women and children gathered in huge quantities from the wan-tree (Salvadora). They also collected a kind of small-grained millet, which lay heavy on their stomachs, but this was just what they needed to sustain them on their long marches. They were very good horsemen, but excellent and enduring runners too, and this proficiency was very important in cattle-lifting. To test and develop their skills they held athletic contests and prize-fights.

But not only their men were stronger and more active than their neighbors. Life in a fighting community had steeled their womenfolk too. They were steadier and more enduring than the women of the colonists, who were weak and silly like city folk. Their own women on the contrary were strong and hard working and could do everything just like the men. Even in battle they held their own. The only work which the men keep reserved for themselves since farming started is the ploughing. In times of financial need the women went to the market-place to sell Ghi. "Our women are our financiers", the headman said laughing. "They know much better than we how to handle money." The women take part in every assembly of the village, where they are free to voice their opinions.

In conclusion, the headman said that all people who own land are called Jat by the menials, hence they too are Jat. The name is written Jāt, but there is no real difference between the two words, as the meaning is the same.

Here again the question arises, discussed on page 47, whether the Jat and the Jāt belong historically, ethnically, and culturally to one and the same group, if Jat and Jāt are only dialectically different pronounciations of one name for one people, or whether there is a fundamental distinction indicated by the existence of two different names? How, then, is the fact to be explained that the Jāt are the best farmers far and wide since hundreds of years, and the Jat pronounced nomads?

There exist not only in the western Pakistani part of the Panjab, but in its Pakistani and Indian eastern half too, groups which call themselves Asl-Jat, meaning the old or true Jat. These are the tribes of the Man, Bhular, and Her, which are split up into numerous sub-

groups different in descent and/or locality. When we visited the main village of the Man (the name of the place also being Man), we got the following information from the villagers concerning the problem under discussion: They are the oldest or Asl-Jat, reason enough for them to look down upon all the Jāt. Even before the time of the Moghuls they inhabited this place, but then they were Hindu, later some of them becoming Sikh and some Moslems. They are poor now because they have too many children, and as each child inherits the same share of his father's fields, the limited amount of land has been subdivided among them so often, that life is very difficult now. Often in the past, people from Man have emigrated with their buffaloes to other parts of the country, to the west or south, some even to Sindh. Before irrigation came there was jungle surrounding Man. People lived mainly from the buffaloes and the berries of the Wan-tree. All Jāt living near or around Man have immigrated lately to this region and have learnt farming from the Asl-Jat, for they were the first to invent farming. Similar information was received from the Varyat Gondel, who live a little to the north of Man.

It is informative to compare against this the statements we got about the so-called Jungli, whom we went to see west of Lahore. A landowner, among whose labourers there were many Jungli, told us: In former times the Jungli were buffalo-owners, the Jat having received their buffaloes from the Jungli. Originally the Jungli lived on the banks of the Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej, but were pushed into the jungle by the farmers. The Jungli who took up farming were called Jāt. In Sarghoda we were told by a group of people which included some Jat that up to 1901, when irrigation in this region started, the so-called Jungli-Jat possessed great numbers of camels and buffaloes, but did some farming for themselves on the side as well. Again it was said, that the word Jāt is synonymous with "peasant", whereas there are other people who call themselves Jat.

A group of Koral Jungli gave us the following information: We are like Jat; in the past we had buffaloes but later changed to farming. Our language and our customs are identical with those of the Jat in Sarghoda, Jhang and Mianwali, but those of the colonists are different.

All this information may be summarized as follows: one-hundred, or in some parts of the Panjab, perhaps fifty years ago, the river banks and the adjoining belts of jungle were the habitat of nomadic buffalo-breeders who were and are called Jungli by their neighbours. Some groups of these Jungli declared and declare themselves to be Jat; if they do not do so, no marked differences can be found in the ways of life of Jat and Jungli. Do the Jāt, the peasants par excellence, belong to this group or not, or are they connected with it in any way?

Many writers suppose that the Jāt are Rajput by descent[18], or are at least closely related to them, a story which the Jāt themselves like to tell. Against this must be compared the statements of the Panjabi-Jat. The Man asserted that they had nothing to do with the Rajput, the Varyat Gondel, that they came of Adam, while the Rajput and those Jāt who consider themselves Rajput claim descent from the sun-god Surj. In Hadda as well, the people were proud to be Jat and nothing else. The difficult position of the Sindhi Jat between Islamic and Hinduistic nations has been mentioned earlier, and the same may be gleaned from the conflicting statements of the Panjabi-Jat, according to which some claim Adam as their ancestor, and others Surj, while a third group maintains that they are a completely separate nation. As the way of life of the buffalo-breeders in Sindh and Panjab is furthermore exactly the same, we may advance from all of this the hypothesis that the nomadic buffalo-breeders in Panjab and Sindh are one and the same group.

All Jat maintain unanimously that the Jāt are newcomers, who have learned to till the soil from them and that the Jat are justified in calling themselves Jāt when they take up farming.

About these newcomers we hear from historical sources: For hundreds of years the Moghuls have had much trouble with the unruly Jāt, living then in a region "bounded on the north by the lower ranges of the Himalayas, on the west by the Indus, on the south by a line drawn from Haidarabad (Sindh) to Ajmir and thence to Bhopal, and on the east by the Ganges: the Jat country spreads, so to say, in a fanlike form with Sindh as its base"[19]. There have always been insurrections of the Jāt against the controlling power, and when the decline of the Moghuls set in, the Jāt seized their chance and in 1761 founded a dynasty in Delhi. At about the same time the Sikh became powerful in Amritsar, and the Sikh, a proud and bellicose community, attracted the Jāt at all times.

The old chronicles describe the Jāt as a restless and quarrelsome element, famous for their ability and endurance in war-time and for their skill in cattle-lifting and tracking animals, which are likewise characteristics of the Asl-Jat and other Jats in the Panjab. The Jāt have remained a warlike people up to the present, although they became exclusively peasants, a change-over which appears to have

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[18] *Ibbetson*, op. cit., p. 97 ff, was a strong supporter of this assumption; most writers relying on his authority accepted this idea.

[19] K. R. *Quanungo:* History of the Jats. Vol. I. To the death of Mirza Najaf Khan. 1782. Sarker and Sons. Calcutta. 1925. p. 1. In this publication the author has assembled all known historic references about the Jat, so that the reader may consult this book for further information.

occurred at the time when they became overlords of the country in Delhi and Amritsar. But even then cattle-lifting was not abandoned, which is today still one of the favourite pastimes of the young men. When Sikhism spread, most Sikh being Jāt, the Jāt immigrated into the western Panjab, which now belongs to Pakistan. In many places we were told that part of the village community returned to India at the time of the Partition, as they wanted to stay Sikh. The immigrants were probably the people, whom the Asl-Jat and the old Jat claimed to have made Jat, i. e., peasants who own the land. It amounts to the same when it is said that everybody who owns land and tills the soil is called Jāt. The main point is that they own the land. The conquering newcomers were very eager to take as much land as possible into their possession, especially because of their rules of inheritance, which prescribe that each son must receive the same share of his father's land. The custom leads in the course of a few generations to a splitting up of the land into pieces too tiny to support a family, so that a part of these peasant communities tended to look for new land in another country.

Today the way of life of Jat and Jāt is the same and, according to the historical sources, was also the same in former times, when both groups were more obviously nomadic. This gives us reason to suppose that Jat and Jāt formed a single cultural and ethnic body some 300 years ago. This hypothesis is supported by all old historical records, which mention only Jat without any distinction; this would hardly be the case if two distinct groups of quarrelsome people had existed. And that the old Jat were a peaceful lot cannot be assumed, taking into account the statements in Hadda and Man. We hence arrive at the conclusion that Jat and Jāt should be considered as being parts of one ethnic group, the latter of which, in connection with the historical events mentioned, took up farming exclusively about 300 years ago.

Buffalo-breeding and dairy-farming

After having discussed the meanings of the term Jat and having singled out the pure buffalo-breeders of Sindh and the Panjab as the groups which may be supposed to be the descendants of those people who about 1,250 years ago were partly deported — together with their buffaloes — to Iraq, we may touch now on the problem of cultural similarities between the Ma'dan in Iraq and the Jat in Pakistan. Some characteristic culture traits with the Ma'dan are that the women are not allowed to milk the buffaloes, and that it is generally

accepted that it is shameful to sell milk but not Ghi, which is prepared by the women and sold in the market-places by the men. How do the Jat in Pakistan feel about these restrictions?

We learnt from the Jat that it is the men's business to milk the buffaloes; only in cases of urgent need were women allowed to do so. The Varyat Gondel maintained that even then women were not permitted to milk the animals, that in such cases a male helper had to be hired; but they seem to be an exception from the rule.

Another invariable custom is that women process the milk and prepare the Ghi, the clarified butter. But there are differences between the groups inasfar as the selling of Ghi is concerned. The old Jat of the Panjab were not against the sale of Ghi on principle, but with them it was a temporary measure in time of want, not an occupation providing a regular source of income. "When we have a surplus of Ghi our women sell it", they said; or, "In case of need our women decide to sell Ghi." This fits in with the habit of the old Jat in the Panjab to leave the management of the household and the finances to their women, who consequently have to decide whether Ghi should be sold or not. We were furthermore told that the Arain, a people which came to the Indian subcontinent from Persia, use the milk of the buffaloes too, but prepare Ghi mainly for sale, leaving the actual selling to their women.

Things are different in Sindh. Starting in Middle Sindh and becoming more pronounced the further south we get, men practice the selling of Ghi. According to our inquiries the proceedings are the same as in Iraq: Once a reasonable amount of it has been collected, the men of the family carry it to the market. The money received forms a regular source of income. Hence Ghi is an important financial factor for the buffalo-breeders in Sindh. The older gazetteers mention too that Arabic-Sindh could be called the country of the buffaloes, upon whose existence was based a well developed dairy-farming, and that the Ghi made of buffalo milk was an important object of trade[20]. So it appears that the Jat or Zutt who emigrated to Iraq came from the Sindhi buffalo-breeders. Additional facts supporting this thesis will be recorded later.

Some beliefs and customs concerning the milk of the buffalo and the estimation of the buffalo as a domestic animal

Although differences exist in the attitude of the Jats in Sindh and in the Panjab where the sale of Ghi is concerned, they are all unani-

[20] A. W. *Hughes:* A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind. Bombay. Civil Service. 1876. p. 2. "Great herds of buffaloes are fed on the swampy tracts of

mous in their opinion about the sale of milk. All Jat, the Jāt included, consider it shameful. One anthropologist wanted to explain this as an attitude typical for villagers, who everywhere think it disgraceful and showing an uncommon degree of avarice for people to ask money from their neighbours for small amounts of victuals. Neighbours should help each other on a basis of long-standing mutual obligation. This is certainly true, but it does not explain why Ghi may be sold, but under no circumstances milk. Some irrational emotions can be observed underlying this attitude, a strong feeling which was expressed to us in many places in various ways.

"Who sells milk steals the blood of his children" (Aolak). "Milk must be kept for guests. The Gujar have been condemned to sell milk, so they must give water to their guests" (Varyat Gondel). "Women love milk first of all, in second place their children" (Karkan). "To sell milk is a disgrace" (Hadda). Repeatedly we were told that this is true exclusively or principally for buffalo-milk, and that it applies progressively less for the milk of cow, goat, sheep or camel. Sometimes in this order of arrangement sheep and goat may reverse places.

None of the persons interviewed could tell us why the milk of buffaloes is considered something special, but once we were told in a quite different context: "The Hindus in the mountains sell neither milk nor milk-products. If there is a surplus of milk it must be offered on sacred stones, i.e., that must be given back to the gods, which they gave men in abundance. If this is not done, there will be famine in the future." (It was not said which animals they keep.) Here in all probability is the basis for the irrational feeling of the Jat, and all the above mentioned statements may thus be explained, as for instance, who sells milk steals the blood of his children, i.e., who sells what belongs to the gods surrenders his children to starvation. Or, to sell milk is dishonourable — because it is detrimental to the wider circle of relatives, who now have to expect the undeserved wrath of the gods.

We have not yet had the opportunity to verify the above recorded statements about a Hindu custom and to put it into a wider context, but the direction of further inquiries is clearly indicated. The question of how the Jat stand in relation to this Hindu-group must remain open for the present as well. But the idea of shame at selling milk appears to be a pre-Islamic tradition. As it has been impossible to find an origin for the same attitude in Iraq — where it exists with the Ma'dan — the most probable explanation is that this idea migrated

the delta, and the ghi made from their milk forms a most important article in Sindian commerce."

with the Zutt from Pakistan to Iraq. If it came from the Indian subcontinent and was limited to the milk of those animals which had been tamed there, this circumstance could explain why there is no inhibition to the selling of camel's milk, which later came to Pakistan from the West. It may be further concluded, that those nomadic Pakistani who do dairy-farming but have no objection to selling milk, as for instance the Gujar, were not influenced by the Hindu group, which for the Jat was decisive.

How can it be, then, that the groups with the strongest objections to selling milk tolerate the selling of Ghi and make it their main object of trade? It can only be imagined that Ghi, which is produced from milk by a very slow and laborious process, so that in the end the substances have no resemblance to each other, appears to a herdsman to be distinctly different from milk. Anyhow, Ghi does not possess those properties which are ascribed to milk. The qualities of milk are peculiar: many times we were told that the fat milk of the buffaloes makes the Jat stubborn or else idle and indolent like the buffaloes themselves. On the other hand camel's milk makes for stupidity. In a love story known all over Sindh, a cup of buffalo's milk acts as a love-potion. To swear by milk is one of the strongest oaths and everybody hesitates to commit perjury. If some milk is spilt, nobody is allowed to tread upon it, for fear of some misfortune. This reverence for milk is so strong that it survived in Islam, there even being an Islamic version to explain it: Milk is a gift of God, hence sacred. For this reason milk should never be sold on pain of lacking it in the future.

But how can it be explained that the cow, holy to the Hindu, is classed after the buffalo in many respects? There are less inhibitions felt toward selling its milk. We were often told that people would rather give up their cows than their buffaloes, if for some reason or other the number of animals had to be reduced, and that buffaloes are better liked than cows anyhow. As far as our observations go — which, by the way, were confirmed by our literary studies — the regard for the buffalo decreases to the same extent as its use for work is increased.

In Lower Sindh and partly in Middle Sindh the animals working in the fields, drawing ploughs and carts, are bullocks, sometimes camels, horses and asses, but never buffaloes. If a buffalo is seen working in Lower Sindh, one can be sure that quite modern influences have been involved. Perhaps they are refugees from India who are making use of the buffalo, or immigrants from the Panjab; Sindhis will never do so. The Sindhi believe that the buffalo is unfit for work

and will be exhausted after half an hour; when it is hot, the buffalo must be in the water and is even then unable to feed, while all this does not affect the bullocks in the least.

But if starting with Multan we go further to the east and to the north, the picture changes and the arguments which go with it as well. More and more often buffaloes can be seen pulling carts, frequently coupled with a bullock. There is a plausible explanation for this: The bullock induces the buffalo to go faster, while the buffalo is stronger; hence the unequal pair can work faster and longer than by themselves. From Lahore to Delhi the esteem in which the buffalo is held as a draught-animal increases. "One buffalo can achieve more than two bullocks", people say. Consequently buffaloes are seen more frequently before the cart, the plough and, most important, in the rice fields. In Orissa we saw a buffalo treading out corn; here it was obviously the farmer's beast for all tasks. Near Delhi we even saw people riding on one. Where buffaloes are used for work, people like the male animals better, whereas those groups who are more interested in milk prefer the female buffaloes.

Our own investigations concern people who do not use the buffalo as a draught animal, i.e., the nomads in Sindh and the former buffalo-nomads of the Panjab. They like the female buffaloes best and kill the young male animals — sparing a few bulls for breeding — about two weeks after birth; their meat may or may not be eaten. The same is not only true for the old Jat of the Panjab, but for a number of groups of the Jāt. But other groups of the Jāt use the buffalo for work and some of them even prefer it. According to the information we got[21], the breeding of the buffalo as a working animal has its geographical centre in India, perhaps in Rohtak, perhaps in Jaffarabad. However, Middle and Eastern Panjab are marginal zones to this centre, and so it must be understood that in this area the two possibilities for using the buffalo — for milk and for labor — are overlapping. Our questions about the relations between the different centres of buffalo-breeding were rewarded with some information about former routes of migrations and trade between the various regions, but unfortunately this data is very incomplete. Some more ethnological research might give additional information so that valid conclusions may be drawn, since literature appears to be silent on these points. For further ethnological research the following questions are of importance: What estimation is given to the cow when the buffalo is bred as a draught animal, i.e., is there any significant relationship between cow and buffalo when the latter is either the main milk or draught animal?

[21] Dr. *Sarwar*, Director of the Institute for Animal Husbandry of the University of Lahore, who was the best informed specialist we met.

Also: When the cow is held sacred, what is the valuation of its milk, of the bull and of the bullock? Is it thought a degradation to use them for laboring purposes and is the burden then reserved for buffaloes, meaning that they are less valued? Is the buffalo ever sacrificed during religious rites, when it is kept purely for working purposes?

Some light will now be shed on this complex of problems as we next consider the various existing breeds of buffaloes in Pakistan. As it can be shown, there have existed and still exist geographically well delimited regions, each characterized by a special breed of buffalo. In the following these special kinds of animals shall be enumerated, mentioning only those characteristics by which they are most easily distinguished.

In Pakistan proper the following breeds are to be found (more will have to be said later about their origin and present distribution):

1) *Nili.* The animals are large, heavy, and have horns that are relatively small and curved. The head is long and slender and *must* have a white spot. The fetlocks should be white, the tip of the tail *must* be white, and the tail thin and long. Their most conspicuous feature are light, i.e., blue eyes. The coat is dark and fairly thin.

2) *Ravi.* This is the heaviest of all breeds. In general appearance this breed is very similar to the Nili, but cruder in all respects. They have a bigger body and their head is plumper. They should have white spots like the Nili, but the eyes are dark. It is characteristic for this breed that the animals are fairly often a reddish-brown colour. These brown animals are well-liked, but not enough for people to have tried breeding only this colour. Sometimes the coat shows a colour going from red to white. Such animals are used, but not liked.

Nili and Ravi are breeds of buffaloes typical for the Panjab. It should be mentioned that some authors consider the Nili and Ravi as fundamentally one and the same breed.

3) *Kundi.* This breed is to be found predominantly in Sindh and is the best-liked there. The animals are lighter than the Nili and Ravi, with a burly head. They should be jet-black without any white patches. The horns must be rolled in a narrow spiral. In the Delta-region the farmers told us how the animals are further classified according to the space left in the middle of the spiral. To test this, one, two, or three fingers or the whole hand are put through the central hole, and the animals are named accordingly.

4) *Murra.* Kundi is only the special variety of the Murra breed, which is said to be found in all parts of India adjacent to West Pakistan as far south as Bombay. The home of the Murra is in the Pan-

jab and Delhi and the western United Provinces, and the breed is sometimes referred to as the Delhi. The horns are also curled and the colour is dark, but more of a dull grey-black[22], not jet-black like the Kundi. White markings on the tail are desirable, but not on the face and extremities.

Other breeds of buffaloes, such as Surate, Jaffarabadi, Mehsana, Nagpuri, etc., did not come under our own observation, so that we cannot contribute anything new as to their relations to the Pakistani breeds. Therefore a discussion of them shall be omitted here. On the breeding of buffaloes in West Pakistan, however, we received some additional information[23] of historical relevance and this shall now be related.

In Panjab all breeding of buffaloes has aimed solely at a high milk-yield, hence the Nili and Ravi are good milkers, but unsuitable as draught animals. Kundi-buffaloes are also not meant for work. Murra are good milkers and can be good workers too, provided that they are bred for this purpose[24].

When in 711 A.D. the Arabs conquered Sindh and the Jat were deported, together with their buffaloes, to Iraq, the Kundi and Murra breeds were spreading that way. The problem remains unsolved, however, how the occurrence of the five white spots, characteristic for

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[22] This statement does not correspond to that in D. C. *Rife:* The Water-Buffalo of India and Pakistan (International Coöperation Administration, Washington, D. C., 1959. p. 22) or H. *Singh*, Assistant Cattle Utilization Advisor to the Government of India, Breeds of Indian Buffaloes (Manuscript, p. 1), who both declare the Murra to be jet-black. We shall nevertheless include our own data here, especially since it is contradictory. There are also other discrepancies in those official publications which we were able to collect. We were told, for instance, that the reddish animals belong to the Ravi breed. In S. A. *Husain:* Livestock Wealth of Pakistan (Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, 1949, p. 7.), it is stated: "Kundis are generally jet-black in colour, but light brown specimens are not uncommon." In *Rife*, p. 22, "The usual colour [of the Nili] is black, but brown is also recognized." *Singh*, on the contrary, states, p. 2, that the brown colour is common for Nili and Ravi. It is our impression that many questions concerning the breeds of buffaloes require new investigation under more specific genetic-historical aspects, and so our information is advanced even if — and sometimes because — it is in contradiction with the publications at hand.

[23] We are indebted for this data to Dr. Sarwar and Colonel Abid Husein of Jhang, whose family manages model-farms for breeds of all kinds of domestic animals.

[24] This statement shows again a certain contradiction to those of H. *Singh*, who maintains, p. 1, "The Nagpuri or Ellichpuri breed is found in Madhya Pradesh and adjoining districts of Hyderabad States. This is considered a dual-purpose breed, the females giving a fair quantity of milk and the males being used a draught animals." So the question, which breed is used and preferred as a draught animal, seems to be one of those needing fresh investigation.

the Nili and Ravi, in Iraq should be explained and why the reddish colour of buffaloes, which is quite frequent in Pakistan, is never seen in Iraq, Turkey, or further west.

Rife[25] states that the development of the Nili and Ravi as such began in 1926, when the government organized a 4,000-acre farm in an irrigated area near Montgomery. But this can concern only the refinement of the breeds; their origin must be much older and was explained to us like this:

In former times, when only the five rivers Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, but no canals, watered the Panjab, there were lowlands along these rivers which were called Belas. These regions were the preferred grazing grounds for buffaloes and here great numbers of them were kept. As communications in the past were not what they are today, the rivers were the natural boundaries of the lowlands between the rivers and in many instances the political boundaries as well. For a long time the Belas were thus geographically and politically separate areas. Some nomadic groups may have crossed these boundaries, some trade may have taken place, changes in political arrangements may have united some of them temporarily and separated them again, but generally the rural population kept to itself in small self-supporting communities, with only limited contact with neighboring groups. Only in times of war did they invade other areas, but on these occasions they were not inclined to copy institutions and achievements found there. They clung to their own traditions and one of them was always a preference for a certain type of buffalo: an adaptation to the grazing conditions in their homeland, with some additional useless characteristics according to their liking. The Ravi breed, the heaviest of all, was explained as an adaptation to the grazing grounds of the Ravi, which offer an abundance of good fodder. But the curved horns, the reddish colour of the coat, the white markings on the head, tail and legs, and the blue eyes are all economically unimportant characteristics and seem to be due only to a longstanding predilection of the people in the different areas. No hint could be found as to how such preferences came into being, but there is the possibility that mutations, such as blue eyes, curved horns, etc., occurred naturally and were in some instances selected by humans.

Today Ravi, Nili, Kundi, and Murra are no longer found in special limited regions. The differentiation of breeds is tending to disappear, owing to abolishment of internal political boundaries, the effects of modern transportation and the greater mobility of the population in general. Only stud farms, owned either by the state or by great land-

[25] Op. cit., p. 22.

lords, handle the pure breeds. The rural population nowadays does not consciously breed certain types, but accepts the buffaloes with such characteristics as are given them by nature. We never met a farmer who, having some ideal buffalo-type in mind, supervised the covering of his cows and selected the bulls accordingly. But to account for those characteristics of the breeds which can only spread by selection, as for instance blue eyes, curled horns, etc., we must assume that some people in former times were more conscious breeders than the farmers are at present. Such consciousness was shown to us by the Toda, pure buffalo-herdsmen, who like to point out to strangers the special merits of their animals, which — as they say — are kept by constant selection. A similar attitude was preserved with the buffalo-nomads of the Delta-Jat, who liked to speak about the qualities of their animals, mainly in regard to the form of their curled horns. Conscious breeding thus seems rooted much more in the minds of herdsmen than of farmers, and the nomads may be responsible for the origin of the different types.

This leads us to the question of when the various buffalo breeds of Pakistan came into existence and if it is possible to assign them to special ethnic groups or cultural levels. There can be no doubt that Kundi and Murra existed as the Arabs conquered Sindh in 711 A.D., for these are predominant forms met with in Iraq today. As the communication between Sindh and Iraq supposedly ceased a short time after the Jat were deported — as we shall see — and furthermore as the breeding of new types of buffaloes in the marshes of southern Iraq seems very improbable, it must be assumed that all the buffaloes living there are offspring of those animals which were introduced to Iraq. That means that conscious buffalo breeding goes back 1,250 years in Pakistan and that it belongs to the cultural level of nomadism. As breeding of special types in a nomadic community is a slow process, without modern knowledge and modern methods, we may conclude that about 1,500 years ago the main buffalo breeds of Pakistan were already in existence.

Still more certain, because supported by documentary evidence, is the fact that at this time some groups of the Jat in Sindh were nomads who lived from buffaloes. To this group must be added, as stated above, the ethnic substratum of the old Jat or Asl-Jat in the Panjab. This means that the selective breeding of buffaloes must be ascribed ethnically to one of the subgroups of the Jat nation.

That buffalo-breeding is one of the oldest traits in Sindhian nomadism is proven by mythical tales of origin. No such tales exist concerning the origin of the camel. The camel, now typical for so many

groups of Jat, was introduced relatively late into the country and nothing is said about its origin, other than that it came from the West. This is true, but this matter-of-fact tradition without any emotional involvement stands in marked contrast to tales about the origin of the buffalo, in which a folk-hero presented mankind with these animals, a deed which is locally more or less embellished with details.

The origin of the buffalo

Following is the legend about the origin of the buffalo, as it is told all over Sindh:

When Alexander the Two-horned arrived in Sindh, he embarked on a boat and went to sea, together with his friend, a magician. There they came to a large whirlpool and Alexander's friend threw some magic powder into the water, whereupon the sides of the whirlpool grew solid and both men were able to descend to the bottom of the sea. There they found themselves in another world, the dominion of the Sea-God. Alexander was well received and even given the Sea-God's daughter for his wife — and her dowry was two buffaloes, the male black, the female brown. Since that time there have been buffaloes on the earth and buffaloes in Sindh.

This seems to be a much more elaborate version of the corresponding tale told by the Iraqi Ma'dan. All they can say is, "The buffaloes come from the sea." Why and how they cannot explain. It has always been our impression that this was a very reduced form of a once more complete story, and as far as Iraq is concerned, the Sindhi tale may well be the original. As to the various particular points of the Sindhi saga, more studies will be needed to explain it historically or to connect it with other tales of India. But some conclusions may be drawn without such a detailed interpretation.

Alexander the Great's impression on the people of the Middle East as far east as India was so profound, that even now he is the key figure of many stories. Some historians believe that his success as a conqueror alone let him become a legendary hero, while others maintain that the colonizing Greeks, who founded kingdoms even in Afghanistan and the Panjab, made his fame permanent. All this is of secondary importance to us. But that the famed Alexander could replace legendary heroes in tales of those people who were subjugated or influenced by him is clearly indicated by the Sindhi tale and is of the greatest importance. Archaeology proves that the buffaloes were domesticated long before Alexander invaded India, so that no historic data follows from the legend. To conclude from it that the buffalo

came to Sindh at the time of Alexander would be quite wrong. This deed must have been ascribed to a much earlier folk-hero, who was only replaced by the conqueror. But who this hero was, and what people at which time and place invented the legend for the first time, are open questions for which we are not certain of finding an answer.

Whereas the historical background of this tale remains obscure, the connexion between the buffaloes and the sea can be interpreted by the ethnographic evidence. The buffalo can swim in the sea if the surf is not too rough. Before the Partition, when people could move easily from Sindh to Cutchh and Gujrat, they often travelled with their buffaloes by sea rather than by land, the way being shorter and providing resting places where the animals could feed and drink. We were told that buffaloes are able to swim several hours per day at a stretch and can do this for many days, if getting daily fodder and fresh water. When swimming, the animals form a row, each laying its head on the neck of the next. Closely crowded together they form a kind of raft, able to withstand waves as long as they are not too high. It was also said that their horns, touching the water, make it easier for them to keep their heads high while swimming. The fact that these lazy land animals are able to travel on the sea may have been reason enough to ascribe to them an origin from that element. Or it might be still simpler: From their well-known affinity for the water, where the buffalo likes to spend hours every day, one could draw the conclusion that the animal originally came from the sea, the biggest pool of water. Its proclivity to wallow would then be nothing more than a wish to return to its former home. But this, and other details too, needs some more investigation.

The camel in Pakistan

To conclude our discussion about the animals of the Jat, we must now deal with the camel. As stated above, there are no mythical tales of origin for this animal. It is said that the camel came from the West, and this seems to be neither more nor less than the historical truth. But what is not remembered is the fact that the camel was introduced twice into Pakistan.

In the zoological literature we find controversies over all the fundamental points in the domestication of the camel. It has not been decided whether the one-humped and the two-humped animals go back to the same wild form or not; or whether the Arabian one-humped wild animals are the true wild form, or only domesticated animals grown wild. We need not enter here into this discussion; for us it is

sufficient to start from the date of the introduction of the camel into Pakistan.

The first introduction can be fixed approximately at about 500 B.C.[26]. Then the one-humped camel was found in the deserts west and east of the Indus, probably having been introduced from Arabia. Within a very short time it spread everywhere among the nomads of the Indus plain. From approximately the 12th to the 15th century the two-humped Baktrian camel was the favourite in the countries west of the Indus[27], only to disappear again in the 16th century.

All these facts and data taken together allow the following historical interpretation:

Some aspects of the history of the Jat in Pakistan

Scattered hints about the history of the buffalo- and camel-breeding Jat span a period of 2,500 years. Nomadism in Pakistan goes back to at least 500 B.C. When, approximately at that time, the one-humped camel was introduced, part of the people living in the Indus-Delta and in or near the deserts of the Indus plain took to camel-rearing and stopped everything else. Whether there had been pure buffalo-herdsmen before that time must remain an open question, and likewise, whether the first camel- and buffalo-herdsmen in Pakistan were Jat or not. The problem if and when the Jat immigrated into Pakistan has still to be discussed, but at the time when Sindh was conquered by the Arabs in 711 A.D. we do find the Jat mentioned, and at that time they were partly buffalo- and camel-herdsmen, living in the region from the Panjab down to the Indus-Delta.

We have discussed earlier the difference between the pure camel-herdsmen and the camel-drivers; we also discussed the group of the Mir-Jat, who are so closely connected with the Baluch and who migrated together with the Baluch to Pakistan. About the area they presently occupy and about its population in former times we can read: "The inhabitants are described as Budha (Nudha) and Mand and as residing in a tract between Turan (the modern Jhalawan), Multan and Mansura. Its inhabitants were Jat, as they are of the present day, and they lived in huts of matting made from the date palm. Then as now travellers remarked on the excellence of its breed of camels, but in those days these camels had double humps and were in great demand in Khurasan and Persia[28]."

[26] *Zeuner:* Domesticated Animals.

[27] H. G. *Raverty:* The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. LXI. Calcutta, 1893, p. 224.

[28] Baluchistan District Gazetteer. Vol. VI A. *Kachhi.* Bombay. 1907. p. 14.

This statement seems to be taken from Raverty, who discusses the travel notes of Al-Idrise (1150—51 A.D.) and writes:

"These Nudahs have peculiar dwellings and marshy places in which they take shelter, if necessary, to the west of the Mihran. They possess a fine breed of camels, particularly a sort called Karah, like the camel of Balkh (the Bakhti camel) which has two humps, and is held in great esteem in Khurasan and other parts of Iran[29]."

Combining these quotations with our other facts, we arrived at the following hypothesis: The Mir-Jat can be associated with the rearing of the Baktrian camel, but they did not become so much herdsmen as camel-drivers. It is because of them and the dominant role of the Baluch in the preceding centuries, that their concept of the Jat as camel-drivers is so prevailing in the mind of the Sindhi. Quite apart from them must be seen the camel-herdsmen of the Delta, who are Jat too, but belong to the old group of nomads who took up camel-breeding when the one-humped animal was introduced into Sindh for the first time.

Unfortunately the ethnographic data do not allow us to say whether or not the Mir-Jat are connected with the Jat of the Delta-region by common origin. In appearance the Delta-Jat and the Mir-Jat are widely different; the same is true for their clothing, dwellings and some customs. On the face of it, the northern and southern Jat each have a marked individuality, as may be shown by considering a further peculiarity of clothing, to be discussed below and which may be of great importance for the problem of historical relations between the Jat and the Ma'dan.

A parallel between the culture of the Jat and the Ma'dan

It is impossible not to note in Iraq that the clothes of the Ma'dan — if they do not keep entirely within their own circles — are black in most cases. The men may sometimes wear a brown cloak but always prefer a black one; the women, on the other hand, are never seen without their black cloak, called Abba. Under it they may wear checkered clothes, but the elder women and the more conservative ones prefer black for those garments too, and even in Baghdad women of all strata of society wear a black cloak when outside the house.

Now clothes of black are not at all suited for the extreme heat prevailing in Iraq, but nobody was able to give us an answer to our repeated question: Why do you wear black clothes? It appears that

[29] Op. cit., p. 224.

this custom is not of Arabian origin. People in Saudi Arabia today may wear black cloaks, but brown ones, made from the wool of sheep and camels, are just as common. The underclothing, which is the only kind of garment worn by the poor, is of a light shade, mostly made from uncoloured cotton. Nor is there any special preference for black shown by the neighbouring peoples, as for instance Persians, Kurds, or Turks. Only the Ma'dan considered the colour to be something belonging to them, and more than once we were told: "When you see some black object in the field, that will be a woman or a buffalo."

Having this unexplained feature of the black clothing in mind, we were immediately interested when we learned in the region of the Indus-Delta that the Jat may be recognized from afar by some black article of clothing, either their turban, their loincloth, their shirt or their jacket; with the women it may be their skirt or the piece of cloth they put round their shoulders. As far as our observations go, *most* of the Jat wear something black in their clothing, and if not in their everyday apparel, then at least in their festive attire. And *all* the Jat we asked confirmed that some part of their clothing *should* be black. Most of the people we asked said in explanation of this custom that the black colour was worn in honour of Shah Karim, whom they as well as their Pirs were followers of.

Ṣhah Karim, who lived 300 years ago, is considered by the Sindhi to be one of their most holy Pirs. There is only his grandson, the one and only Shah Abdul Latif, whose fame is greater than his. Of this Shah Karim it is said that he wore only black clothing — the preferred colour of the living Pirs too — and that he ordered all his followers and Khalifes to go in black, or at least to have some part of their clothing in black, to show that they were his disciples. The Jat, according to his wishes, now wear something of black colour in their garb.

Ahmed Fakir, the Salarani best versed in the history of the Jat, claimed possession of older historical knowledge. He maintained that Shah Karim, in insisting on black clothes, had fallen back on older traditions and the precepts of his forerunners. Those had used black clothing as a sign of mourning and remembrance of the deaths of Hasan and Husein, the sons of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, who died near Kerbela. But remembering Hasan and Husein does not mean that the Jat are Shi'ites. When asked, Ahmed Fakir replied that his people believed in the Koran and the words of the Prophet, so there is genuine sorrow in their hearts for his grandsons. From this it would appear that the black clothing of the Jat was of Islamic origin, introduced by the Arabs. But not being wholly convinced, we followed

up this question. The following paragraph lists in brief the ethnographic data we were able to collect.

In the Delta-region east of the Indus there are other groups besides the Jat wearing some black in their apparel, viz., the Jakshar and the women of the Molwani, both castes being considered very low. In the Delta-region west of the Indus, on the other hand, no black is worn, not even by the Jat, who declared themselves to be of Baluch origin and preferred for this reason the favourite colour of this dominant people, i.e., red. In the middle of Sindh all the Jat feeling themselves part of the southern group (which lives mainly east of the Indus) use the black colour in their clothing. The women of the Brahuis, who are poor people of strict morals, use dark blue (indigo) and black coloured clothes too, while the Baluch women would never make dresses from dark material; their colour is red. In Upper Sindh the Jat are said to wear black garments fairly often, but it is not typical for them, and even a Baluch may sometimes use black clothing. In the Panjab we also saw black clothes often, especially on women of different castes, for instance with the Jat, Jāt, Jungli, and Nat-Gipsies. But we were never told a story in explanation of this custom. In most cases we were given merely a rationalization: black clothes are very practical; one need not wash them so often.

But there are, surprisingly enough, passages in old chronicles which mention the Jat and their black garments. The earliest and most important reference to the Jat is found in the Chachnamah, a report on the conquest of Sindh, written in Persian in 1216 (i.e., 505 years after the event) by Ali Mohammed Kufi[30]. Shortly before the Arab occupation of Sindh, Chach, whose son, Dahar, later became the adversary of Mohammed bin Kasim, was in the midst of conquering Sindh. In connection with these military operations the Chachnamah tells us[31]:

"Chach then stayed at the fort of Brahmanabad till all the affairs of that country were settled, the dues of the Treasury fixed, and the welfare of his subjects was assured. He *degraded the Jats and the Luhanahs* and bound over their chiefs. He took a hostage from them, and confined him in the fort of Brahmanabad. He imposed the following terms on these people (the Jats and the Luhanahs), namely that they should not carry swords, except on occasions of urgent necessity; that their undergarment should be of some woolen cloth; that they should not wear velvet or silken cloth; that they might use scarfs of cotton thread, of black or red colour; that they must ride horses without saddles; that they must walk

[30] The relevant passages are cited here from: The Chachnamah, an ancient History of Sindh, Giving the Hindu Period down to the Arab conquest. Translated from the Persian by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Deputy Collector, Naushahro, Hyderabad District, Karachi, Printed at the Commissioner's Press, 1900.

[31] Op. cit., p. 36—37.

about bareheaded and bare-footed; that, when going out of their houses, they must take dogs with them; that they must supply firewood to the ruler of Brahmanabad; that they must serve him in the capacity of guides and spies; that, if they distinguished themselves for these qualities, they would be considered trustworthy and honest; that they must live in harmony and co-operate with king Agham's son Sarhand; and that, if an enemy invaded the country they should consider it their duty to stand by him and fight for him... In the case of some men of this class, he had resource to another policy, viz., that he appointed them to some respectable post..."

In a later period, when Mohammed bin Kasim had been victorious over Dahar, we learn from the Chachnamah:

"He (Moh. b. Kasim) then sent for Wazir Siyakar and Mokah Basayeh, and asked them as to how the Jats of the Luhanah tribe had been treated by Chach and Dahar, and how matters now stood in regard to them. Wazir Siyakar replied in the presence of Mokah Basayeh: 'In the reign of Rai Chach the Luhanas that is: the Lakhas and Sammahs (This shows that the Lakhas and the Sammahs were Luhanahs and were all Hindu originally) were not allowed to use soft clothes of silk or velvet. On the contrary they used to wear a rough black blanket, and put on a rough scarf on their shoulders, and they went about with bare head and feet. If any one of them wore some soft stuff, he was fined, and when they went out of their houses, they used to take a dog with them, in order that they might easily be distinguished from the other tribe. If any headman or Rana was obliged to use a horse, he rode it without any saddle or reins, and with only a blanket on its back. If an accident occurred to any traveller, the Jat tribes were called to help, and it was the duty of their headmen to see that such help was given readily. If any one of them committed theft, his children and the other members of his family were thrown into flames and burnt. They guided caravans on their way both during day time and at night. Among them there is no distinction of high and low; they are all of the wild nature of brutes. They have always been refractory and disobedient to the rulers; and are in the habit of committing highway robberies. In the robberies committed some time ago on the high roads of Debal, they were probably concerned as accomplices. It was also a duty of theirs to supply firewood for the royal kitchen, to collect provisions for the personal use of the king, and to keep watch over his person, as his body guards.' Hearing this account of the Luhanah Jats, Muhamed Kasim is said to have remarked: 'what a villainous set of people these are. They are quite like the wild men, living in some villages in Fars and Mount Payeh, and they should now be treated as such.' Muhammed Kasim, therefore, thought it proper to deal with them exactly in the same way...[32]."

But we learn from Hodivala that even Chach in his treatment of the Jat was following an old pattern:

"Chach treated the Jats just like Chandālas. Manu says of the latter that 'they should be made to live outside the town, that their sole wealth must be dogs and asses, their clothes must consist of the

[32] Op. cit., p. 169—170.

cerecloths of the dead'..."[33] which probably means that the garments were from a very rough material and of dark colour.

From this we may conclude that even at the time when the Arabs came to Sindh the Jat were distinguished from other groups by the black garments which they were forced to wear. And we may safely assume that the Jat who were deported to Iraq went there in black, for this event took place when Mohammed bin Kasim was still alive.

A much more difficult problem is that of the prevalence of black in Iraq in general. Whether the black garment was introduced by the Jat, and for what reasons the Iraqi may have taken it over from the Jat or Ma'dan, whom they despised, we would not dare to say. But the fact remains that the use of black clothing in Sindh can be explained by historical reasons, while it is impossible to do the same for the Ma'dan in Iraq as long as they are seen only in relation to their present surroundings.

The ethnographic data from Pakistan fit well together without any contradictions. Those Jat who immigrated into Pakistan with the Baluch were apparently never subjected to any such discriminatory order to wear black, which is also impractical in this climate. It is understandable that they prefer red, the colour of the Baluch. In the Panjab, where the Jat have even reached a dominant position, the custom of wearing black is still to be found, but any feeling of humiliation connected with it has long been forgotten. With the southern Jat too, exact recollections have been lost, but there remains a feeling that the colour black is something special and important, distinguishing them from all other groups. The social stigma connected with the black garment they converted into a religious distinction when embracing Islam, a process which their overlords did not hinder, probably deeming it unimportant and without any dangers for them.

So again the Jat of the Delta-region and those connected with them, viz., the old and Asl-Jat of the Panjab, have been found to be that group showing parallels to the Ma'dan in Iraq. But are there still more similarities to be found — for instance, in the social life?

More parallels between the culture of the Jat and the Ma'dan

a) The social life of the Ma'dan

The Ma'dan are affiliated to Arab tribes, but only in a very loose and formal way, as followers of a Sheikh. They are always ready

[33] Shahpurshah Hormasji *Hodivala:* Studies in Indo-Muslim History, A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Bombay, 1939, p. 86.

to recognize the supremacy of the Sheikh of their region, to pay him taxes or give him presents, and, if asked, to take part in his wars. But if a Sheikh loses a war, and in consequence his land, and is replaced by another Sheikh from another tribe, the Ma'dan stay where they were and follow the new overlord.

The fundamental social unit of the Ma'dan is a relatively small group of related families who live and migrate together. Several of such groups — or parts of such groups — can be combined to form a permanent or temporary village community. The marshes where the Ma'dan live are out of the way and difficult to reach, so that they have been able to avoid the influence of the surrounding tribes on their social life. They have thus developed, or conserved, some traits of social behaviour which are now typical for them. These shall now be listed:

If the Ma'dan have not aquired rights to any specific piece of land, their group-formations are especially unstable. They are bound together only by the patrilineal-patriarchal bonds of family and by kinship ties to other families of the same type. But the relations between these families can easily be severed if there is a quarrel. The existence of different tribes is explained by the Ma'dan as founded on descent and kinship, but this cannot be proved, as tradition does not go back far enough and there are no genealogical tables in existence. Nevertheless, the supposed kinship ties entail the obligation to participate in blood feuds, although the family-groups — often feeling enmity against each other — live scattered throughout the wide Iraqi marshes.

If people belong to one and the same tribe they bear a tribal name, as for instance Shaghanba, Fartus, Suwa'id, etc. All people with the same tribal name consider themselves to be related, even if they have not met before, and will count on a certain hospitality and help from their fellow-tribesmen. If there is an encounter between strangers, both parties will know immediately from their tribal names if there is a blood feud between them or not; if need be, they will make a speedy withdrawal. Blood feud, based on kinship ties, is one decisive factor in tribal life, separating on the one side the tribes from each other, and on the other side, knitting the members of one tribe closer together.

The fear of blood feuds leads to a tendency to keep within the boundaries of traditional tribal territories. These territories are not registered with the government as the property of the tribes, but are nevertheless recognized by the Ma'dan themselves, who defend their "own" territory and avoid those of other tribes. Some Ma'dan tribes,

as for instance the Shaghanba or Fartus, can still remember that in former times, i.e., before the British came in 1915, there was a tribal leader common to all fellow-tribesmen. Their descendants are called Sheikh even today. But this is only a title of courtesy now (the word Sheikh originally denoted a man old and wise), and no special political or social functions any longer go with it in the Ma'dan tribes.

Should some group possess land or — in the interior of the marshes — a permanent settlement, a so-called Mukhtar will be the head of this group. His position is hereditary in his family, passing from father to eldest son In most cases the Mukhtars are direct descendants of the man who long ago gave his name to that group. It is one of the most important obligations of the Mukhtar to build an annex to his house, or better, a special house, where the men of the group can assemble, making it the social centre of the community.

The family consists of patrilineally related men with their wives and children, the family life being patriarchal. The eldest man is the head of the family; his authority in all family matters is supreme; he alone disposes of the family property. The sons like to become independent on the death of their father, but this is only possible if the possessions of the family after a split suffice to guarantee the existence of the divided family. The splitting up is much easier and more common if the families, besides keeping buffaloes, earn some money by the fabrication and sale of reed-mats, a practice which for some groups may be the main means of livelihood. As the tendency for sons and brothers to separate is usually present, but without the possibility of fulfillment, frictions in family life are common.

In principle the women are wholly subordinated to the men, which shows in their formal demeanor in public and when there are disagreements between man and wife. But in daily life the position of a woman depends largely on her personality. Her position improves with financial independence. This is the case when the groups have started selling milk, as the sale of milk and milk-products — except Ghi — is in the hands of the women. The men, conscious of the old tradition that the sale of milk is shameful, pretend not to care for the activities of their womenfolk, thus allowing them to become virtually the most important persons in the family economy. They take to these modern changes ungracefully, trying to boss the women, so that there are not only frictions between the male members of a family, but between male and female as well.

The relations between parents and children are likewise strained. Only the first years of childhood are without problems, for later on children are dependent for all their needs on the goodwill of their

parents, and nearly all their demands are met with disapproval. There is no education directed toward specific goals and the children are never trained for cooperation, as their parents have no interest in communal activities. Hence the Ma'dan know of no playgroups, age-groups, or other organizations for young people.

All these disruptive forces at work are responsible for the instability of the groups.

b) The Para

How does the social life of the Jat compare with that of the Ma'dan? It has already been said that each Orak of the Jat has a hereditary leader, the Wadero, with whom an elected Wagdar is associated. Their positions and functions within the framework of the political organization of the tribe were discussed on p. 13 ff. There are some Oraks which consist of 100 up to 2,500 families. This is a very large group, too large to live together in one place, with the possible exception of groups of farmers living on fertile lands. But even if living in a nomadic or semi-nomadic way, the families will not scatter through the country at random. There is a sub-unit of the Orak, called the Para, a stable community of families which only disintegrates in years of famine, when everybody has to look out for himself. Generally speaking, the Para of the camel-nomads is smaller and shows a tendency to split up more easily during migrations than the Para of the buffalo-breeders, who — as mentioned earlier — must stand together as one defensive unit during their wanderings. But what is a Para?

Various definitions were given to us by the Jat, and it is of certain interest that the question of the Para led to heated discussions among the informants, who were unable or unwilling to arrive at any agreement about this term. It is still relatively easy do describe its use in Upper and Middle Sindh, in other words, in those regions which are influenced by the northern group of Jat. Here people designate a Para as a group whose members are related by kinship and consider themselves a unit separate from the others. According to the degree of kinship admitted, the Para may denote a tribe, a sub-tribe or a lineage only. The words Nukh and Quum for tribe, which can be found in literature and are known to the literate, are not used by the common people, who do not even understand them. When the Jat came to Sindh together with the Baluch — they told us — there were nine Paras of the Jat and from these nine stem the many hundreds or thousands of Paras which exists today. This gives us a clear idea of the Para as a kinship-group of the northern group of Jat.

In the Delta-region of the Indus the meaning of the word Para is by no means clear. Often the Jat told us that a Para is a group of related people, for every male member of which they are able to prove consanguinity. Thus a Para may be either a lineage or comprise several of them, if each can be traced back to a common origin. Against this, the Orak — according to the same informants — is a group consisting of several subgroups, mostly Paras, comprised of people related by kinship, but who are unable to trace their origin back to an almost mythical ancestor without leaving blank places in the family-trees. The idea of the common ancestor is the tie keeping the members of the Orak together, but at the same time it is known to everyone that there are some links missing in the ancestral chain. The farther back in the past, the greater are the gaps between the ancestors remembered, and it may well be that ancestors are forgotten, in whose persons two Paras were once united. But it appears to be clear nevertheless that the idea of one common origin is at the base of these definitions of Para and Orak.

Quite different is a definition of Para given by other informants. For them Para meant a group of people living at the same place, a group which may even contain people of different Oraks, but which had to be recognized as a Para because of their common settlement. Compared to the kinship-Para, the settlement-Para will be less stable. In spite of a notable tendency to keep together once a settlement-Para has consolidated, the decision to separate is easier if no obligations going along with living in a kinship-group have to be shaken off.

Another, third definition, bridges the discrepancies between the two others. In this case, Para is a term for a permanent settlement, consisting of a group of houses whose inhabitants are all related by kinship.

Now it is a fact that for many Jat even today, a group of people living together assert their common origin, be they farmers, nomads, or semi-nomads. If we are concerned with farmers, their settlement is in principle in a fixed place. But even semi-nomadic or nomadic Jat have semi-permanent settlements, where the families live while the young men are moving about with the herds. The place for their temporary village is not absolutely fixed, but every year the groups return to the same preferred Dehe — a region covering a number of square miles — where the huts are erected. A certain attachment to one or more localities as a permanent community on the part of a group of families can thus be observed even for nomadic peoples. As the settlement is named after the Dehe in which it is situated, the attachment to a certain region is underlined by an unchanging name

for the settlement, even if it is set up a mile away from last year's place. This allows the conclusion that in the Delta-region the word Para originally meant a group of related kinsmen, living and moving about together. General historical or local events may have led to a partial disintegration of such units, so that nowadays both aspects of the Para may be met with separately. Consequently the Para may now denote a group living together *or* a group related by kinship, so that in any special case under discussion the investigator must ask the members of the group whether or not they consider themselves a Para and why.

c) Traces of dual-systems

Before we discuss the details of social life within a Para, some facts shall be offered which might indicate the existence of a dual-system in the past. With the northern group of Jat, around Jacobabad, we were unable to find any traces of it. But in the Panjab the Jat villages — we cannot say anything about the others — are often split into two rival factions. It should be noted, however, that this bipartition cannot be called an institution in the strict sense of the word, since the villagers do not consider its existence a necessity and no special functions can be ascribed to it. This is the reason why sociologists in Lahore tended to deny its existence altogether.

On the other hand we saw only very few villages where no traces of a bipartition could be found. Its influence on village life varies, sometimes being very slight, sometimes dominating. Whether in former times the rival groups were confined to one village or to those villages of closely related people only, and if the factions had a wider scope and an acknowledged social and ceremonial significance, we cannot say. A special investigation would be necessary to answer these questions.

At present a bipartition is confined to one village only. This fact makes it possible for the villagers to explain its existence with purely personal and accidental reasons. In each village they maintained that the factions were a trait characteristic for their own community alone. Two examples of such explanations shall be cited: The village Ladhewala of the Varaich was founded by a man by the name of Ladhe. He had two sons, one of whom was Hindu, the other becoming a Moslem. Since that time there had been two factions in the village. Another story is told in Lalupur by the Aolak: Hadat, the founder of the village, had two sons. The younger of them had many children and they and their descendants became very poor because of the rules of

inheritance, which prescribe equal parts of land for all the heirs. Since that time they have had a grudge against the descendants of the elder son, who are richer than they.

When we found that such "accidents" had occurred in about fifteen of the Panjabi villages visited by us, we grew suspicious whether these accidents were not actually the rule. Differences of religion and differences in property were in most cases mentioned as reasons for the existence of rival factions, in some cases just a quarrel between the ancestors. But why these personal disagreements in the past are kept alive among the descendants of the combatants and force them into enmity, needs some deeper analysis than has been conducted thus far.

In Sindh, in the Delta-region, during the drawn-out discussions about the meaning of the word Para, it was often said: Every Orak has two Para, one Para is formed by the buffalo-breeders, the other by the camel-herdsmen, or: by the camel-herdsmen and the tenants, or: by the buffalo-breeders and the farmers. In any case there was a bipartition according to occupation. When we tried to discuss details, our informants grew uncertain. Coming back to the point in a hundred ways did not help; the Jat grew less and less sure of their knowledge. When reflecting about it, they had to concede after some while, that they know only what they had already told us and nothing more, that the phenomenon was not to be found in all the Oraks, and that the name Para was not the proper description for it. As spontaneous information of that kind kept cropping up again and again in the Delta-region, we got the impression that the people vaguely remembered a feature of tribal life which had had considerable significance in former times.

Even the members of the Malik-family knew about the bipartition of the Oraks, but could give no explanation for this phenomenon. One member with whom we discussed this problem told us that every village and every group had to be divided into two Paras, preferably distinguished by their occupation, but that there had to be two Paras in any case, even if all the villagers had one and the same occupation, for instance camel-herding or farming. Another member of the Malik-family, appreciating our interest in his people, often volunteered information. Thus he told us one day: Do you know that the Vangai are split up into two halves? One half is called the black Vangai, the other the white Vangai. He was unable to tell us much more. He supposed, without any proof, that the black Vangai are darker in appearance, and was quite sure that no social or political functions were connected with the dual-system of this tribe at the present time.

About the past nothing could be learned. The Vangai, living in Cutchh, could not be visited by us on this trip.

To summarize all this information, it can be said that there are traces of a dual-organization to be found with the Jat in Sindh and the Panjab, but not with the northern Jat, attached to the Baluch. This supports again the hypothesis that the Jat in Sindh and the Panjab must be seen as historically connected and separated from the northern group. But it remains an open question whether the dual-organization was originally characteristic for the social organization of the Jat. There is a possibility that the dual-organization shows the influence of some foreign invaders, for instance the so-called Huns or Mongols, who are especially known to have had the distinction of black and white people, designating moities of a tribe. It may be possible that this influence is fading away with the Jat in the Panjab, but is still strongly preserved with the 'black' and 'white' Vangai. But whether this is the correct interpretation of the ethnographic facts cannot be determined before additional — contradicting or supporting — material has been collected.

d) Daily life in a Para

As was said above, the Para — here understood as a group of people related by kinship and settling together — is the unit most important for the normal activities of the Jat. A typical Para consists of six to eight families, closely related by patrilineal descent. The core of this group is not necessarily the extended family (i.e., a father with his sons and grandsons), as brothers and even cousins show a marked tendency to keep together as long as the groups do not become too numerous. Moreover people quite frequently live together with their inlaws, or with friends from other Oraks. But these cases shall be disregarded here, as they must be considered the results of a special development, which acknowledges only one principle of group-formation, i.e., common-settlement.

The typical Para takes its name from the eldest man of the eldest line of descent, to which is added "Jat" to designate one's caste, and for further distinction, occasionally the name of the Orak. To give an example: a group may be called Haji Shafe Mahmad Jat, or, Haji Ahmed Fakirani Jat. In economic and domestic matters the families of the Para are usually independent, except for a father living together with his sons, married or un-married. In this case the father is the recognized head of the family, and as long as he is alive, will alone make the decisions for the family. Economic independence is indica-

ted by a separate fireplace for cooking, for whoever is independent in regard to food is entirely independent.

The men of a Para form a kind of council, which is not convened formally, but which meets without ceremony now and then to confer and to make decisions. Such gatherings may take place in or in front of the house of the eldest man. A fixed place for gatherings exists in permanent settlements of larger size and is called an Otak. The same name is used for guest-houses, which rich farmers build for their visitors and friends just outside of the village proper. The Malik, as mentioned before, is obliged to build such houses to accomodate official and unofficial travellers. But the meeting-place of the men, sometimes only marked by a sunshade, appears to be the older institution.

In the gatherings of the council everyone, including the younger men, may voice his opinions and see them accepted by the whole community, if by his personality he makes his arguments impressive. But if there are conflicting views, the younger man has to submit to his elder on principle, and must even carry out his orders. This leads to the fact that the man from whom the group derives its name is authorized to make decisions binding on all of them. The headman of a Para is not necessarily an old man, as we were often told that there are generally only a few old men among the Jat. Most of the headmen were between 40 and 50 years of age, hence still able in body and mind. Differences of opinion may occur and are looked upon as normal. A Para will show a tendency to disband, however, only if the differences are deep-rooted or occur so frequently that the communal life is seriously disturbed. There is no way of keeping families by force if they want to leave, but, as was confirmed many times, kinship relations and the resulting obligations for mutual help are deeply felt ties, which are not to be severed lightly.

If in the course of time a Para becomes too large for its members to live together any longer and a sub-Orak is constituted, the people of the new Orak will maintain the feeling of solidarity with the old one for a long time. This feeling finds its expression in the institution of a common meal, to which they invite each other. No animal is slaughtered for this occasion. It is a simple affair called a bread-meal, but it fulfils the function of preventing estrangement, as people can see and talk to one another and exchange news and opinions. Everybody can issue invitations for a bread-meal of his own free will and there are no obligations or privileges according to age or wealth. Invitations in case of death, marriage and circumcision are, however, a formal affair. The families concerned are obliged to give a feast and to invite the whole of the Para, everyone being obliged to accept the

invitation, which entails giving some prescribed presents, for instance money, animals for slaughtering, pieces of cloth for turbans, etc. These formal obligations are minutely differentiated, not only among the families, but among the various members of one family as well, this being the result of a long tradition of regulated gift-exchange. These are the institutionalized forms of expressing solidarity, and if anybody fails to fulfil his duties, it is interpreted as a sign of enmity.

As endogamy is demanded of all Oraks, a tendency can be observed to transfer this custom to the Para as well. In this case the women of a Para are used to strengthen its internal cohesion. When a man asks for the daughter of his brother in marriage for his son, this proposal *must* be accepted, but the families will try to develop it into an exchange of sisters, to make the marriage ties as strong as possible. A further motive for exchanging sisters is that these are the cheapest marriages which can be arranged, and without doubt this can be a very strong motive, especially if the parents are very poor. But normally the families consider marriages not only from the financial point of view. They value it as a means of entering into desirable relations with other families and cementing them. This is especially evident in the case of cross-cousin marriages, which are nowhere the rule, but occur fairly often.

We have just mentioned that the Oraks practice endogamy on principle; hence a woman will get as a husband someone more or less closely related to her, even when marrying outside her Para. With marriage a woman enters the Para of her husband and is then expected to give the name of her husband's Para as her own. But socially she remains a member of her father's Para and is obliged to partake in the feasts for death, marriage or circumcision of this Para too. This means that she cannot free herself from the formal gift-exchange obligations of her parental kinsmen. When visiting her father's Para she will be accompanied as a rule by her children and her husband, who, by reason of the tendency to exchange sisters, will probably meet his own sister at this feast, she being the wife of his own wife's brother. Such pairs, bound together by two marriage bonds, may develop the habit of visiting each other often.

Generally speaking, the mother's brother is a person acknowledged and respected by the children. One might be tempted to take his role in the education of the children and the fact that his name is often given to his sister's children as indications of earlier matriarchal culture traits. But even if the Jat should have had matriarchal institutions in former times, they are now obscured by Islamic law and by the substantially patriarchal way of life of Islamic people to such an

extent, that it would not be safe to draw any conclusions in that respect. It must suffice to note the fact that the family of the mother is in most cases as familiar to the children as that of the father, and that the family of the mother belongs to that circle of closer relations which are obliged to help each other in time of need, regardless of whether the Para of the father and the mother are the same or different.

In a number of Oraks we found an institution requiring the woman to return to her father's house in the seventh month of pregnancy to give birth to her first child there. This custom seems to be the rule with the Hindu and could be interpreted as an adjustment to Hindu usages in bygone days. Members of other Oraks maintained, however, that their women have all their children in the house of her husband and that it has never been otherwise. Both assertions may be true, for many of our own observations suggest the possibility that the Jat are of mixed origin and may have absorbed indigeneous as well as immigrant groups and customs.

But in contrast to many widely different customs, some practices show conformity throughout all the Oraks. Thus all informants were unanimous in proclaiming that divorce is very rare, as the families of both partners try everything to prevent the man from divorcing his wife. According to Islamic law, only the man is able to effect the divorce, and is furthermore allowed to have four women. But as the average man in most cases is only able to support one wife, monogamy prevails in practice. If a woman is very badly treated, she will ask her parents or her brother for help. First of all both families — and with them the whole Para, which takes an active part in such cases — try to bring the husband to reason. He will be blamed, ridiculed, and threatened, for in the interest of the children and the connections between the two families, they will always try to preserve the marriage, be it a happy one or otherwise. Should the man persist in his obstinacy, higher authorities are brought into play, for instance the Wagdar or Wadero. If their intervention is without effect, one resorts to more drastic action: the families of the Para sever all relations with the man, nobody cares for him, nobody lends him any help, nobody speaks to him. If even this does not help, they appeal to the Malik. He has the authority to have him hanged from his arms, which are crossed behind his back. "Then he will change his mind within a few minutes", it was said. As a result the marriages of the Jat are lasting, if not always happy — a very desirable state of affairs from the point of view of the community.

If, notwithstanding the efforts of all members of a Para, a divorce is declared, everything the wife brought to her husband at the time of marriage will go back to her; the same will happen in the case of the death of her husband. The children always belong to the family of their father. As marriages often take place between families that are closely related, there will normally be relatively little change in the children's life if the parents separate from each other. They will grow up amidst their family as before, acknowledge all elder persons as authorized to control them, and learn by imitation the skills they will need in later life.

The growing up of the children and their education goes smoothly, as does family life of the Jat in general. Up to their tenth year the children enjoy much freedom to play. The boys make little figurines from clay representing the domesticated animals and instruments of daily life, which they use to imitate in play-acting all the activities of the grown-ups, such as herding, migrating, bargaining in the market-place, etc. Playmates are boys of comparable age of the Para or the village. From the tenth year onwards the boys will have to accompany their fathers, later to substitute for them in tasks of minor importance. The girls will be instructed by their mother or by some well-versed woman in cooking, sewing and embroidery, and will be kept busy all the time. In a fairly large number of Jat settlements there is a Koran-school where a Mullah teaches the boys the rudiments of reading and writing, while his wife gives instruction to the girls, but on a much reduced scale. The relations between young and old are generally affectionate, regard for their elders becoming second nature with the children.

The younger generation is expected to prove strong and able in daily life and to raise a family and care for it. The age of marriage is 12—15 for the girls and 16—18 for the boys. Aggression and the impulse to fight find their outlet in cattle-lifting, hence life in the community can be harmonious. The Sindhi, being gay by nature, do not care for bickering and back-biting in daily-life. The women, too, fetching water or doing other daily chores, can be seen talking and laughing a good deal.

Although the women normally seem to be content, their position in the family is low if we judge by external signs. "The mother is nothing when the father is present", it was said. Official affairs are the man's business and he represents the family at the feasts of name-giving for boys and girls, at circumcision, marriage and death. But as far as the household duties are concerned, women go about their tasks on their own responsibility and no man orders them about. I myself

have seen a number of times how women in their own houses acted as hosts, assigning places even to the men, who came in flocks to see me, and those places were by no means necessarily the places of honour.

The men of the Para are allowed to speak to its women and to see them unveiled, although they are expected to be reserved in the presence of younger women. But if men of another Para have been invited to a feast, the sexes will be separated, men sitting with the men and women with the women. The men will cook the meal for the guests and give some of the food to the women. A stranger will not be permitted to enter the village on principle. If there is a little shop in the settlement, it will invariably be located just outside the village. There was some exemption from this strict separation of the sexes for the women of the camel-breeders, who up to 1953 were allowed to visit market-places to buy and sell; but as was mentioned earlier, this was abolished ten years ago as a result of a vote taken among the Jat who had come to the general assembly called by the Malik. Since that time the women of the camel-breeders have been cut off from the outside world, just as the women of the buffalo-herdsmen. Both are confined to their household duties, but if the Jat resort to farming, the women help in the fields and are famous for the quality of their labor and their willingness to work. There are few kinds of work which they cannot do as well as the men, i.e., all jobs connected with the handling of animals are reserved for the men. They make faithful wives, for every woman, that of the farmer and that of the nomad, has her duties and very little leisure time, so that the Jat need not fear for their women as do the idle rich. The general opinion is that a woman will stick to her husband and family the more she has to work, meaning not only that she will be too exhausted to think of adventures, but that it is worthwhile for every woman to care for her family.

The individual position of a woman in her family may be domineering, as illustrated by the following little story of Ahmed Fakir. As we were discussing burial customs, the fact was mentioned that the nomadic Jat make use of the burial places of neighboring villages. Suddenly he laughed and asked us, "Did you see the little grave on the canal bank?" Yes, we had. "Well, that is the grave of an old woman who all her life found fault with us. Day in and day out she was squabbling and nagging, abusing everybody. When she died nobody wanted to do her the favour of bringing the dead body to the cemetery, least of all her husband. So she was carried only to the canal and hastily covered with earth. Now she will never rest in a cemetery", explained Ahmed Fakir with glee.

e) The social life of the Jat in comparison to that of the Ma'dan

If we now compare the social life of the Jat in Pakistan with that of the Ma'dan in Iraq, the social organizations are in every detail exactly the same. The most important unit in daily life consists of a group of near relatives, living and moving together. In most cases they are part of a larger group, bound together by blood relationship and presumed descent, which may be called a lineage. In other cases the groups are these lineages themselves. The lineages have as their leader a headman whose office has been handed down to him from father to eldest son since time immemorial. Endogamy within the family or the lineage is fairly common, which contributes to knitting the group more closely together; exogamous marriage-bonds are strengthened by sister-exchange. Family life follows the patriarchal pattern, the head of the family having absolute authority in all family affairs and being alone able to dispose of the family property. The status of women is officially low, but her position within the family depends on her personality and she is independent in her own economic activities. There are no educational institutions for the young, for instance age-groups or initiation-groups, all the education taking place within the family-group and supplemented occasionally by nearly every elder relative.

The largest social grouping of their own is the Ashira with the Ma'dan and the Orak with the Jat. Here again relation by kinship is the principle underlying these formations, but the traditional record of genealogical facts is marred by errors and gaps, so that the solidarity of the groups rests on the maintenance of a common origin from a half-mythical ancestor, symbolized by the tribal name. These biologically constituted tribes are represented by a leader, who likewise inherits his position by primogeniture. But whereas the patriarchal heads of the families have absolute power over all members of their families, neither the headman of a lineage nor that of a tribe can make decisions without the consent of the council of men, which consists in the first case of the heads of the families, in the second of the heads of the lineages. This dependence of the tribal leader on the council of men is the essential difference from the tribal organizations of the Arab and Baluch, as found today in Iraq and Pakistan. The Arab or Baluchi head of a tribe holds his office authoritatively only if he is as tribal leader also the representative of a political system. If the Ma'dan and the Jat are included in such a political system, they too have to acknowledge in certain respects the absolute supremacy

of the Arab or Baluchi chief, as has been shown in the foregoing chapters.

In spite of the striking similarities in structure, the local group shows a marked instability with the Ma'dan, while that of the Jat is reasonably stable. The same form may be said to be filled with a different content. The Jat appear to possess a real communal feeling, which disdains to make accounts of all help offered or received. They like to be together with their relatives, as shown by the institution of the communal bread-meal. The Ma'dan appear to have lost that feeling of fellowship. They realize their connection with their fellow-tribesmen, but understand it only as a complex of mutual rights and obligations to protect the individual, who would be lost alone in critical situations such as death, blood-feuds, and war, but everywhere aggressive tendencies come to the surface. They are a constant source of disturbance to the relations between man and wife, father and son, mother and daughter, brother and sister, brother and brother. One tends to want to get away from the others, accounting for the instability of the groups. They are rarely confronted with external enemies in the many inaccessible nooks and crannies of their marshy surroundings, and for that reason can more easily yield to their isolationist attitudes.

From the fact that the same social forms are filled by the Jat with a living cultural process, while they are no more than a framework maintained with effort by the Ma'dan, one may conclude that the common social system of Jat and Ma'dan originated in Pakistan and was transferred to Iraq. It cannot be discussed in detail here which historical or environmental factors led to a cultural decay for the Ma'dan, but it can be safely assumed that a process of cultural disintegration has been going on there for some time[34].

The origin of the Jat

In this chapter we shall discuss some of the theories about the origin and expansion of the Jat and then state our own views about their migration to Iraq. We have not been able so far to gather all of the literature about the origin of the Jat, but that generally discussed and cited we do have and can thus give in outline the substance of the main theories.

The main question presented is: Are the Jat indigenous to the Indian subcontinent, or are they immigrants? And if immigrants, where did

[34] A more detailed discussion of this problem can be found in: S. *Westphal-Hellbusch* and H. *Westphal:* Die Ma'dan, Kultur und Geschichte der Marschenbewohner im Südiraq, Berlin 1962.

they come from? Comparative philology, which had its day in the last century, has been applied alone to reconstruct the history of peoples; ethnological investigations and arguments were then widely neglected. As a consequence, far-reaching hypotheses were often framed on very flimsy grounds. The discussions about the origin of the Jat are an example of this. Simply by reason of their tribal name the Jat were identified with the Scythian Getae, the Goths and the inhabitants of Jutland — a part of Denmark. Once the identification has been made, there can always be found some single parallels in customs and institutions which can be used to support the hypotheses. Starting with such assumptions, the supposed history of the Jat was written for a period of about 2,500 years.

The main advocates of the Scythian origin of the Jat were Cunningham[35] and Tod. But while Cunningham assumes their homeland to be in the region of the Oxus at the river Zotale-Zothale, because of another similarity of names — Tod has them coming from the Jaxartes, which is in Central Asia too. As Tod's book is still famous today, some of his views and arguments shall be reproduced here[36].

"Jit. — In all the ancient catalogues of the thirty-six royal races of India the Jit has a place, though by none is he ever styled 'Rajpoot'; nor am I aware of any instance of a Rajpoot's intermarriage with a Jit. It is a name widely disseminated over India, though it does not now occupy a very elevated place amongst the inhabitants, belonging chiefly to the agricultural classes.

In the Panjab they still retain their ancient name of Jit. On the Jumna and Ganges they are styled Jats, of whom the chief of Bhurtpoor is the most conspicuous. On the Indus and in Saurashtra they are termed Juts. The greater portion of the husbandmen in Rajast'han are Jits; and there are numerous tribes beyond the Indus, now proselytes to the Mahomedan religion, who derive their origin from this class.

... The traditions of the Jit claim the regions west of the Indus as the cradle of the race, and make them of Yadu extraction; thus corroborating the annals of the Yadus, which state their migration from Zabulist'han, and almost inducing us to dispense with the descent of this tribe from Crishna, and to pronounce it an important colony of the Yuchi, Yuti, of Jits. Of the first migration from Central Asia of this race within the Indus, we have no records: it might have been simultaneous with the Takshac, from the wars of Cyrus or his ancestors.

It has been already remarked, that the Jit divided with the Takshac the claim of being the parent name of the various tribes called Scythic, invaders of India; and here is now before the author an inscription of the fifth century applying both epithets to the same prince [given as annota-

[35] As cited in *Elliot* and *Dowson:* Historians of Sind III, Calcutta. 1956. p. 109.

[36] James *Tod:* Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han, or, The Central and Western Rajpoot States in India, in two volumes. London. Volume I first published in 1829, Volume I reprinted 1960, pp. 88.

tion], who is invested moreover with the scythic quality of worshipping the sun. It states, likewise, that the mother of the Jit prince was of Yadu race: strengthening their claims to a niche amongst the thirty-six-Rajcúlas, as well as their Yadu descent.

... How much earlier than this the Jit penetrated into Rajast'han must be left to more ancient inscriptions to determine; suffice it, that in A. D. 440 we find him in power [as annotation: At this time (A. D. 449) the Jut brothers Hengist and Horsa, led a colony from Jutland and founded the kingdom of Kent (qu. Cant'hi, 'a coast' in Sanscrit, as in Gothic Konta?). The laws they there introduced, more especially the still prevailing one of gavelkind, where all the sons share equally, except the youngest, who has a double portion, are purely Scythic, and brought by the original Goth from the Jaxartes. Alaric had finished his career, and Theodoric and Generic (ric, 'king', in Sanscrit) were carrying their arms into Spain and Africa].

When the Yadu was expelled from Salivahanpoora, and forced to seek refuge across the Sutledge among the Dahia and Johya Rajpoots of the Indian desert, where they founded their first capital, Derrawul, many from compulsion embraced the Mahomedan faith; on which occasion they assumed the name of Ját, of which at least twenty different offsets are enumerated in the Yadu chronicles. [As annotation: Why should these proselytes, if originally Yadu, assume the name of Jit or Ját? It must be either that the Yadus were themselves the Scythic Yuti or Yuchi, or that the branches intermarried with the Jits, and consequently became degraded as Yadus, and the mixed issue bore the name of the mother.]

Tod mentions further the historically documented fights between the Jats and Mahmud of Ghazni, 1026, the wars between the Jat and the Moghuls in the 14th and 17th centuries, etc.

Naturally Tod's theses have met which much opposition. Some linguists have made the objection that the Jat speak such Indo-Aryan languages as Sindhi and Panjabi. And if the answer to this were that race and language may not be coincident, the same applies to the argumentation of Tod — he cannot deduce racial origin from a similarity of some words[37].

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[37] O. C. *Qahungo*, p. 6: "The fanciful theory of Col. Tod, who suggested kinship among the Indian Jats, the Goths of the Roman Empire, and the Juts of Jutland, cast a mighty spell upon several generations of scholars. The Jat tribe's name sounded in the scholarly ear like that of the Gaete, Yuti and Yetha of the Oxus region. The philologist for the first time raised his note of protest against this. Dr. Trumpp and Beames remark: 'the theory of the Aryan origin of the Jats, if it is to be overthrown at all, must have stronger arguments directed against it, than any that have been adduced. Physical type and language are considerations which are not to be set aside by mere verbal resemblance, especially when the words come to us mingled beyond recognition by Greek and Chinese. Elliot's Memoirs of the Races of North-Western Provinces of India, I, 135—137 very strongly claimed a pure Indo-Aryan descent for them both in consideration of their physical type and language, which has been authoritatively pronounced as a pure dialect of Hindi, without the slightest trace of Scythian. But they were silenced by the progressing science, which established the unassailable dictum 'Language is no proof of race'."

In support of Tod's theories however some customs are mentioned, for instance, that with the Jat of Sibi traces of the Central Asian custom of elopement can be found[38]. The bridgeroom carries home his bride by letting her sit behind him on a horse or ox. To this the objection has been raised that the people of Central Asia are brachycephalic and of short stature; while the opposite is true for the Jat[39]. Many of them are exceptionally lanky and would be probably dolichocephalic, too, if the deformation of the little children's heads by flattening the back of it were less common in Sindh and parts of Panjab than it is. But there is a belt of brachycephalic groups to be observed from south of the Panjab into the Deccan. Among those scattered groups one has to look for descendants of the immigrants from Central Asia.

On the other hand there can be no serious doubt that Scythian hordes penetrated into India. It is an historical fact that king Vikramaditja had to fight against Scythian invaders in 57 B.C. and Scythian coins have been found all over the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent[40]. But in this context Scythian is a collective name for

[38] Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, Vol. II, Sibi District, Bombay. 1907. p. 71: "As to the origin of the Jats Mr. Hughes-Buller says: 'It is curious to note in connection with the theory of their Central Asian origin, that they still retain traces of the custom of marriage by capture as it is in vogue in Central Asia, the bride being carried on a bullock or horse behind the bridegroom and married at the latter's house'."

[39] The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire, Vol. I, Descriptive. New Edition Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1909. p. 306: "Such are the contradictions which beset the attempt to identify the Scythians with the Jāt and Rājputs. The only escape seems to lie in an alternative hypothesis which is suggested by the measurements. These data show that a zone of broad-headed people may still be traced southwards, from the region of the Western-Punjab in which we lose sight of the Scythians, who first occupied the great grazing country of the Western Punjab, and then, pressed upon by later invaders and finding their progress eastwards blocked by the Indo-Aryans, turned towards the south, mingled with the Dravidian population, and became the ancestors of the Marāthas. The physical type of the people of this region accords fairly well with this theory, while the arguments derived from language and religion do not seem to conflict with it. For, after entering India, the Scythians readily adopted an Aryan language, written in the Kharsthi character, and accepted Buddhism as their religion. Their Prākrit speech would have developed into Marāthi, while their Buddhistic doctrines would have been absorbed in that fusion of magic and metaphysics which has resulted in popular Hinduism. On this view the wide-ranging forays of the Marāthas, their guerilla methods of warfare, their unscrupulous dealings with friend and foe, their genius for intrigue and their consequent failure to build up an enduring dominion, might well be regarded as inherited from their Scythian ancestors."

[40] Gazetteer of the Provice of Sind, compiled by Aitken. Printed by the Government at the Mercantile Press. Karachi. 1907. p. 87: Such a barrier for a time was the kingdom of Ujjein under the great Vikramaditja, from whose victorious resistance to the Scythians the Hindu Samvat era

nomadic hordes of different extractions which invaded India for some centuries. They did not come in great numbers, which could have subjected the native Indians and founded great empires, but in little waves, which subsided soon without leaving any noticeable traces among the aboriginal population, as they could not compete with the relatively high developed Indian culture.

It is reasonable to assume that many Scythian hordes found it easier to mix with the camel- and buffalo-rearing Jat than with the agriculturists, as their own way of life was nomadic rather than settled. But Scythian admixture is something different from Scythian origin, and as camel- and buffalo-nomads have existed on the Indian subcontinent since before the Scythian invasion, the present day Jat are probably the descendants of those nomads mixed with some Scythian strains.

Whether these aboriginal nomads in the north-west of the Indian subcontinent are of Aryan extraction (as some scientists tend to believe because of the close relations between the Jat and the Aryan Rajput in parts of the Panjab, and by reason of their supposed identification with the Yadu and Saka mentioned in the Vedas) cannot be decided here and probably never will. Apparently it is very easy to make linguistic derivations from Sanscrit words leading to the tribal name Jat[41]. It is very possible that there is some Aryan admixture among the Jat, but as the Jat are a mixed people anyhow, nothing is proven by this admission. About their origin science is still unable to arrive at definite conclusions, and so this question may be left undecided.

But in this context it must be mentioned that some Indian authors have repudiated all hypotheses of an immigration of the Jat[42]. As proof for an Indian origin of the Jat they put forward a tradition of the Jāt in the Panjab, according to which they did not come from the north but from the south, viz., from Rajast'han and Gujrat. But such regionally limited movements do not tell us anything about what

(57 B.C.) is supposed to date. Another Hindu era, the Saka (78 A.D.) marks more unequivocally the nature of the deliverance (or disaster?) which it commemorates... Sind became known as Indo-Scythia, and to this day a large proportion of the population is certainly Scythian, not Aryan.

An Advanced History of India, by R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, Kalinkinkar Datta. London. 1960. p. 118: Gradually they extended their sway to the Indus valley and Western India, which came to be styled Scythia by Greek mariners and geographers in the first and second centuries A. D. In the first century after Christ part of this territory had already fallen into the hands of the Parthians. Inscriptions and coins disclose the names of many Scytho-Parthian kings and provincial governors.

[41] For further discussions of this problem, see Qanungo, op. cit.

[42] For instance Qanungo, and on his authority, others.

happened before these movements. And anybody who has seen the Jat will never believe in a "purely" Indian origin for them, if as usual, by that term is understood descent from the Dravidian people in southern India or even older inhabitants, meaning the middle-sized races of a dark mediterranean type. Such types may frequently be found among the Jat, but generally they are fairly tall, strong and of comparatively light complexion.

Jat in the countries west of Pakistan

Whereas the Jat were used by scholars to prove an expansion of the Scythians from Central Asia to the north of Europe and to the south of India, their synonym Zutt was used as the starting point of a likewise far-reaching theory, but with opposite aims. Again by assumed similarities of names, the Zutt were supposed to be the ancestors of all the gipsies in the world.

It was the Dutch orientalist M. J. de Goeje, in the second half of the last century editor of the most important works of Arab historians, who, starting from two references to the fate of the Zutt after their rebellion in Iraq, developed a theory about the origin of the gipsies in Europe and the Middle East[43].

The first reference is from Biladuri[44]. He relates that the Khalif Moawia in 669 or 670 A.D. transferred several families of the Zotts and Sayabija from Basra to Antioch on the Orontes and to other seaboard towns of Syria. In the third century of the Muhammadan era there was a quarter in Antioch known as "the quarter of the Zotts", and the descendants of this people lived in Buka. A second colony, and afterwards a third, was sent into Syria by Walid I and Yazid II. In the year 834 A.D., when the rebellion of the Zutt in the south Iraqi marshes had finally been suppressed, they surrendered on the condition that neither their lives nor their possessions were to be forfeited. They are reported to have numbered 27,000 persons, of whom 12,000 were men capable of bearing arms. They were deported, first to Khanikin, and from there to Ainzarba (Anazarba) on the northern frontier of Syria. Biladuri states that the greatest number were taken to Ainzarba, but that a part remained in Khanikin, and a few were placed in other districts on the Syrian frontier.

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[43] M. J. *de Goeje:* "Contribution to the history of the Gypsies." Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen of Amsterdam. 1875.

[44] There are several editions and translations of Biladuri's Futuh-al-Buldan, the reference used here is: G. P. *Tate:* Seistan. Calcutta. 1912. pp. 377—378. He has assembled all the relevant data dealing with the same problem.

The second reference, found in Tabari and Ibn-l'Athir, gives events which took place in 855 A.D. In this year, when the Byzantines attacked Ainzarba, they captured all the Zott as prisoners in that town and carried them off to their own country, along with their women, children, buffaloes, and cattle.

This is the historical basis for de Goeje's theory, which is supplemented by a linguistic derivation of names; from Jat he gets Jatano, Gitano, Gipsies — the latter name not being a true linguistic derivation, as it comes from Egypt, where these migrating people aroused the interest of European travellers and scholars.

It is very fortunate that there are some references to the history of the Jat after their deportation to Iraq, and we can make use of them, but we do not believe that there is any significant connection between the gipsies and the Jat, as shall be briefly discussed to conclude this question. Even if some of the Jat or Zutt should have lived like gipsies, everyone who has seen Jat and gipsies in India will never believe that the Jat are the ancestors of the gipsies. The Indian origin of the gipsies is more of less accepted today; linguistic relations have been established and there are up to the present gipsy-like groups in India itself. They belong to the lower castes, are jugglers, musicians, and acrobats, and strikingly resemble the European gipsies in appearance, in their way of life, and even in the style of clothing of their women. Among these people we must look for the ancestors of the gipsies, which means at the same time, that they are and were socially separated from the Jat by inviolable caste-boundaries. Furthermore they are of a very different somatic type. On the other hand we have a theory of our own that the Jat were of some historical importance, as we hope to be able to prove: that they have been material in spreading the breeding of water-buffaloes to Egypt and Europe. But this hypothesis, for which another publication is in preparation, shall not be dealt with in this ethnographic account; instead another question should be discussed here: What do the historical sources say or suggest about the migration of the Jat to Iraq?

It cannot be doubted that buffaloes were brought to Iraq by the Jat, and that the Jat and their descendants, the Ma'dan, are the buffalo-herdsmen proper, for we possess the account of their deportation ordered by Hajjaj[45]. The Islamic conquest of Sindh was not the

[45] A very detailed accound of the circumstances of their deportation is given by: Dr. Abdul Hamid *Khan*, in: "Animal Wealth of Western Pakistan During the Arab Period." (The Bulletin of the Karachi Geographical Society, 1st Issue, 1949) pp. 28—31: "How these buffaloes were transported from Sind to Islamic countries under the care of the Zuts (Jats) has been described by al-Baladhuri in an interesting way. On the authority of Abu-al-Numan al-Intiaqi, he quotes that on the route between

first occasion for the Arabs to learn about Sindh and its inhabitants. There are records of pre-Islamic Arab contacts with India by land and by sea[46], and we know that the Jat had freely spread along the coasts of the Persian Gulf. But it is of interest and shall be pointed out here that only after the Arabian conquest of Sindh and the consequent deportations of the Jat, does a *word* for buffalo appear in Arabic literature, viz., Djamus, Djowamis, which is clearly derived from the Persian form, Gawmish. So the buffalo-breeders became important for the Arabs only at that time.

As fore the desire of the Islamized Arabian tribes to penetrate into Sindh, it did not spring from ignorance, but from knowledge. Already in Sumerian times there were contacts between India and Mesopotamia which were never completely interrupted. Alexander's campaign into India is evidence of his knowledge of these regions[47]. The contact between Arabia, Persia and India had been especially intense shortly before the Arabian conquest of Sindh, when there was lively sea-traffic between Persia and China[48]. The Persian harbour was Basra and Hira, near Kufa on the Euphrates, linked by a caravan route with Khorasan. Ports of call on the way to China were Bahrain, Debal, Bombay, and Ceylon. It is because this important sea-traffic was endangered by the piratical Jat, that part of them were deported.

When Mohammed bin Kasim — after various fruitless efforts by other Arab leaders — started to conquer Sindh, he was supported by Mohammed Harun, Arab governor of Makran[49]. For these reasons it

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Antiaq and Wal-Musiqa there was an abode of the wild animals, where men were attacked by a lion. When the matter was reported to the Caliph al-Walid-b-Abdul-Malik, he sent four thousand buffaloes of both sexes, which proved useful by the grace of God. Mohd-b-Qasim Sakfi, who was appointed governor of Sind, sent many thousands of these buffaloes to his own country, out of which al-Hajjaj sent four thousand to al-Walid and the rest were let off in Kaskar jungles. When al-Walid was slain and the property of Bani Muhallib was confiscated by Yazid-b-Abdul Malik, these four thousand buffaloes, which were found in the Tigris and Kaskar area, all fell into their hands and were sent to al-Musiqa." — but all these details need further investigation.

[46] For a general account, see *Elliot* and *Dowson:* History of India, as told by its own historians, The Muhammadan Period, Historians of Sindh, Vol. III. pp. 1—59, and Th. *Holdich:* The Gates of India, London, 1910.

[47] V. A. *Smith:* The Early History of India from 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the Invasion of Alexander the Great. Oxford. 1904. R. C. *Majumdar:* The Classical Accounts of India. Calcutta. 1960.

[48] R. K. *Mookerji:* Indian Shipping. Bombay, Calcutta, Madras. 1957. p. 118—119: "In the 5th century, according to Hamza of Ispahan, the ships of India and China could be seen constantly moored at Hira, near Kufa, on the Euphrates. The ports of Sind and Gujarat appear among the chief centres of this naval enterprise of the time. It was from these ports that the Indian adventurers sailed to colonize Java."

[49] *Elliot* and *Dowson*, op. cit., p. 32.

would be wrong to say that Islam had brought knowledge of India to Arabia. On the contrary, Islam was making a last effort to conquer these much desired areas, with their famous wealth, for the Arabs. Up to that time there were frequent contacts between Mesopotamia and India, which afterwards started to fade. Military supplies were discontinued with the death of Hajjaj; the conquerors settled down in the country and began to mix with the inhabitants[50]. For some time commercial relations were still extensive[51], but then gradually declined, partly because new conquerors such as the Huns, Moghuls, and Baluch made travel unsafe, and partly because a change of climate led to a desiccation of the regions between Iraq and India, which in due course brought commerce to a standstill and affected the connections between the two countries[52].

In conclusion it may be said that the Jat deported by Hajjaj appear to have been one of the last groups migrating from India to the West. Especially because there were no others following them, the records of their transplantation to Syria are so clear and unmistakable. But they had forerunners[53]. Persian and Arabian authors report that in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. the Zutt were moving up the shores of the Persian Gulf, looking for grazing grounds for their cattle — which can mean, as said before, either cows or buffaloes. In Khuzistan they formed part of the Iranian army, which opposed the Muslims during the siege of al Sus in 638 A.D., and were defeated. It was after this Muslim victory that the Jat of Iran embraced Islam en masse and came to Abu Musa al-Achari, the Arab commander, who brought them with him to Iraq. After the founding of Basra in 637 A.D. they seem to have settled there. By virtue of their loyalty and honesty they were appointed by 'Uthman b. Hunayf al-Ansari, the 'Alid governor of Kufa, to guard the public treasury during the battle of Djamal. It is to their credit that the highest reliance was placed on their integrity, dependability and trustworthiness.

As the Zutt fought with the Arabs as well as with the Persians, they can be found as soldiers or prisoners of war in all frontier regions, for instance in Sistan, a district of special interest for its proximity to Pakistan[54]. Those Zutt who were Persian soldiers and taken as prisoners of war by the Arabs were eager to embrace the new

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[50] Ibid., p. 64.
[51] Ibid., p. 67—68.
[52] *Holdich*, op. cit., Chap. VIII, pp. 284—325, and *Tate*, op. cit., p. 316.
[53] The following is an account of A. S. Basum Ansari entitled "Jat" and meant to be published in an Encyclopedia, which he was kind enough to lend us in manuscript.
[54] *Elliot* and *Dowson*, op. cit., p. 14.

faith and decided to fight for it[55]. Hence there were many Jat or Zutt in Mohammed bin Kasim's army when he conquered Sindh. But there is no further information about these Zutt. It is not known whether they had kept up relations with their fellow-tribesmen in Sindh or took them up again and what the consequences were[56].

Another point of interest is whether the Jat, while serving as Persian or Arabian soldiers, hung on to their buffaloes, so that the distribution of these animals might be partly ascribed to them. There is only a very slight probability for this hypothesis. First of all, not every Jat was a buffalo-breeder at the time of the Islamic wars; others reared camels, goats[57] or sheep; still others lived as farmers or fishermen. So only part of the Jat soldiers might have felt inclined to rear buffaloes when their army life did not prevent it, as perhaps in garrisons. But it is more than probable that the Jat while soldiering forgot about their buffaloes, for the Jat appear to have been a restless people, eager to embrace new careers, to travel to new countries and to take up professions. Biladuri mentions that the Jat were well-known traders[58] and Aisha, the wife of Mohammed, was treated by a famous Jat physician.

The miscellaneous reports about the Jat show that this people, ever since there have been records of them, cannot be considered as a group homogeneous in descent or way of life. This is the reason why Mohammed bin Kasim treated them differently[59], confirming some of their leaders in their positions and making use of them, degrading and suppressing others in the same way as the Hindu had done before him.

Combining the facts that the buffalo-breeders were at all times outside the Hindu society proper, and that the buffalo-breeding Jat had to pay for the misdeeds of their piratical tribesmen, we may

[55] B. *Spuler:* Iran in Früh-islamischer Zeit. Wiesbaden 1952. p. 139.

[56] *Elliot* and *Dowson,* op. cit., pp. 65 ff.

[57] It has not been mentioned so far that goat-herdsmen have played an important role in Sindh and Cutchh.

[58] Probably they belong to the camel-drivers or the notherm group, as they were called in the foregoing chapters.

[59] Muhammed *Habib:* The Arab Conquest of Sind, Extract from Islamic Culture, Vol. III, No. 4, 1929, The Hyderabad Quarterly Review, p. 15: "Sir Henry Elliot says that Muhammed Qasim won over the Jats to his side in his campaign against Dahir, but suppressed them after they had fought in his army and led him to victory. This is incorrect. There is no reason to suppose that the Jats like other races, the Turks or Tartars for instance, did not differ in culture from place to place. These regulations applied only to the 'Jats of Lohana, viz., Hokha and Samma', who seem to have been the most backward, and savage sections of the race. It is difficult to say who the Lohana Jats were, but it is clear that the time-honoured stern regulations did not apply to the whole race..."

conclude that the buffalo-herdsmen of Sindh are perhaps the oldest and socially lowest element of population within the Jat community of today. Living in areas of retreat, they accepted and absorbed small groups of various people driven out of their lands, until the last non-European invaders of Sindh, the Baluch, merged with them, together with other scattered nomadic and sedentary groups, into a new tribe.

The way to the West

Some space must be alotted to the problem of how the deported Jat travelled to Iraq. In view of the lively sea-traffic between China and India on the one hand and Persia (Mesopotamia) on the other — in which Bombay and Debal were not only intermediate stops, but entertained trade-relations on their own account as well — the deportation of the Jat with their families and buffaloes by ship is a possibility to be kept in mind, in spite of the indubitable difficulties which had to be mastered with the water-loving beasts. Which were the ports of call on the way from Debal to Basrah is not completely known, but one of them was Bahrain, where at that time a fair-sized colony of Zutt lived, ready to help their brethren. Water can be carried by every boat. It may be remembered that the Jat camel-breeders even today fill their boats with fresh water for men and beasts, and the Jat may have done the same thing 1,250 years ago.

It should further be remembered, that — as mentioned earlier — the buffaloes themselves do not shun the sea and are able to swim in it, so another mode of movement along the shores of the Persian Gulf might be vizualized, where according to the conditions, land or sea were used. But there is much to be said against this hypothesis. The northern shores of the Persian Gulf are in many places made impassable by cliffs or mudflats, and fresh water is scarce, as Alexander found out, as he lost half of his army in the south of Makran.

On the other hand, we have Biladuri's records of the Jat, who, looking for fodder for their animals, travelled up to Fars. In Zahedan we were told that west of Chahbahar on the coast of the Persian Gulf people cannot travel with animals for want of water and grazing land. But was there perhaps in former times a route where herdsmen could get by with their beasts? The question of the old routes of travel and trade between India and the West has been treated by Th. Holdich[60]. From the chapter "Arabic explorations — Makran," I should like to give the substance of the passages relevant to us.

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[60] *Holdich*, op. cit., pp. 284—324.

"Makran is not an attractive country for the modern explorer. It is not yet a popular field for enterprise in research ... and a few words of further description are necessary to explain how it was that the death-trap of Alexander proved to be the road to wealth and power of the subsequent Arab ... It is extraordinary how deep a veil of forgetfulness was drawn over Southern Baluchistan during this unrecorded interval. For a thousand years, from the withdrawal of Alexander's attenuated force to the rise and spread of Islam, we hear nothing of Makran, and we are left to the traditions of the Baluch tribes to fill up the gap in history. What the Arabs made of mediaeval Makran as a gate of India may be briefly told ... Hajjaj, the governor of Irak, under the Khalif Walid I, projected three simultaneous expeditions into Asia for the advancement of the true faith ... The Makran field force was organised in the first instance for the purpose of punishing certain Karak and Med pirates, who had plundered a valuable convoy sent by the ruler of Ceylon to Hajjaj and to the Khalif ... Before long, however, we find that Mohamed Kasim had both the piratical Meds, and the hardly less tractable Jats (. .) in his train, and the news of these successes carried to Damascus brought crowds of Arab adventurers to follow his fortunes. ... For three centuries, then, whilst a people of Arab descent ruled in Sindh, there existed through Makran one of the great highways of the world, a link between West and East such as has never existed elsewhere on the Indian border, save, perhaps, through the valley of the Kabul River and its affluents. Along this highway flowed the greater part of the mighty trade of India, a trade which has never failed to give commercial predominance to that country which held the golden key to it, whether that key has been in hands of Arab, Turk, Venetian, Portuguese, or Englishman. And though there are traces of a rapid decline in the mediaeval prosperity of Makran after the commencement of the eleventh century, yet its comparative remoteness in geographical position saved it subsequently from the ruthless destruction inflicted by Turk and Tartar in more accessible regions .... And when we come to the days of Arab ascendency, when Arab merchants settled in the country, when good roads with well-marked stages were established; when, fortunately for geography, certain Western commercial travellers, following, longo intervallo, the example of the Chinese pilgrims — men such as Ibn Haukal of Baghdad, or Istakhri of Persepolis — first set to work to reduce geographical discovery to systematic compilation, we can take their books and maps in our hands, and verify their statements as we read. It is true that they copied a good deal from each other, and that their manner of writing geographical names was obscure, and leaves a good deal to be desired — ... — yet they are on the whole as much more accurate than the early Greek geographers as the area of their observations is more restricted. We may say that Makran and Sind are perhaps more fully treated of by Arab geographers than any other portion of the globe by the geographers who preceded them; and as their details are more perfect, so, for the most part, is the identification of those details rendered comparatively easy by the nature of the country and its physical characteristics. With the exception of the coast-line the topography of Makran today is the topography of Makran in Alexandrian days. This is different indeed from the uncertain character of the Indus valley mediaeval geography. There the extraordinary hydrographical changes that have taken place; the shifting of the great river itself from east to west, dependent on certain recognized natural laws; the drying up and total disappearance of

ancient channels and river-beds; the formation of a delta, and the ever-varying alterations in the coast-line (due greatly to monsoon influences), leave large tracts almost unrecognizable as described in mediaeval literature. Makran is, for the most part, a country of hills. Its valleys are narrow and sharply defined; its mountains only passable at certain well-known points, which must have been as definite before the Christian era as they are to-day; and it is consequently comparatively easy to follow up a clue to any main route passing through that country. Makran is, in short, a country full of long narrow valleys running east and west, the longest and most important being the valley of Kej ... I have, perhaps, said enough to indicate that the old highways through Makran, however much they may have assisted trade and traffic between East and West, could only have been confined to very narrow limits indeed. It is, in fact, almost a one-road country. Given the key, then, to open the gates of such channels of communication as exist, there is no difficulty in following them up, and the identification of successive stages become merely a matter of local search..."

Holdich, who has seen most of these places for himself, says in summing up that it was possible to travel with a loaded camel from the Indus valley into the west of Persia through Makran without meeting a difficult pass or a gradient too steep for a camel. In the valley, stone tanks are found nowadays, dams built of bricks were erected to store the water of rivers and brooks, ruins indicate the location of former settlements, terraced mountain slopes give evidence of farming in former times — but there are no men living there today, for there is no water. This relapse into desert conditions began in Makran and South Persia in the 11th century. Its reasons are unknown[61], but it is a fact that Europe's ignorance of these "incaccessible and uninhabited" regions was not shared by other peoples, who earlier knew them as fertile countries where travel was easy.

So there is every reason to believe that the Jat of Sindh, together with their buffaloes, travelled this road to Iraq, meeting perhaps on their way other groups of Jat, who merged with them. But this was the last movement westward; it could not be taken up again in later centuries because of the change in geographic conditions, which caused the present situation of impassable deserts between Sindh and Iraq.

Conclusion

In conclusion there are only a few words left to say. It is the intention of the authors to write a full ethnographical and historical

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[61] *Holdich*, op. cit., p. 289: "The water has failed; whether, as is most probable, from the same desiccating processes which are drying up lakes and dwindling glaciers in both northern and southern hemispheres, or whether there has been special interference with the routine of Nature and man has contributed to his own undoing, it is impossible at present to say, but the result is that Makran is now, and has been for centuries, a forgotten and almost forsaken country."

account of the Jat nation. Toward this end all literary sources have to taken into consideration, but even at the present stage of their investigation the authors are impressed at how those records usually cited change their meaning under the light of new ethnographical data. It is impossible to say what can yet be learned by further ethnographical field-research, but it can be said that whatever material might be collected will be of scientific and practical importance. If this little book is successful in demonstrating that field-research is the only means of gaining reliable material and in stimulating more such projects for the solution of actual and historical problems — for the Jat as well as for others — it has attained its goal.

Glossary

Dehe: Smallest administrative unit in Pakistan; sometimes only a place distinguished from its surroundings by some characteristics of nature.
Fair: Festive market-days; usually in honour and at the grave of a holy man.
Harri: Tenant or farmhand.
Jagir: Originally land in feudal tenure; under the English government: land free of taxes.
Jagirdar: The holder of title deeds for a Jagir.
Malik: Arabic *king*; the acknowledged head of a tribe, sometimes a title of honour.
Murid: The followers of a Murshid.
Murshid: Pir, but in the character of a spiritual leader.
Orak: The largest social group defined by patrilineal descent.
Otak: Place of assembly; derived from this: guest-house.
Pagaro: The bearer of the turban, as the symbol for a social unit.
Para: A kinship group moving and settling together in former times; nowadays sometimes a kinship-group or a local group only.
Pir: Holy man.
Wadero: Headman of an orak, by inheritance.
Wagdar: Headman of an orak, by election.
Zamindar: Landowner, large or small.

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The Jat of Pakistan

This book is based on fieldwork undertaken by a German professor in Pakistan during the early sixties. The book attempts to trace the origin of the Jat tribe in Pakistan and provides valuable information on the Jat of Southern Pakistan in the Sindhi and Baluchi context. Both descriptive and speculative, this book is being reprinted by Lok Virsa to stimulate interest and research on the Jat of Southern Pakistan by students and scholars of the social sciences and folklore. The author, Professor Sigrid Westphal-Hellbusch, has concentrated on the Jat of the Indus Delta. This study forms the basis for future follow-up research by Pakistani scholars.